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LAWRENCE POK MING LAU

Date of Birth — Date de naissance

29th August, 1946

Country of Birth — Lieu de naissance

HONG KONG

Permanent Address — Résidence fixe

3489 - E. 3rd Ave; Vancouver, B.C. V5M 1J7

Title of Thesis — Titre de la thèse

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Name of Supervisor — Nom du directeur de thèse

Dr. B.L. EVANS

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THE SIGNIFICANCE AND EXTENT OF TAOIST INFLUENCE ON THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EARLY HAN

by

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V5M 1J7 Canada

DATED Oct. 3rd. 1981

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled .The Significance and... Extent of Taoist Influence on the Government of the Early Han... submitted by Lawrence P.M. Lau in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Brian E. Evans
.....
Supervisor

.....

.....

.....

.....
External Examiner

Date October 3, 1981

PREFACE

In the study of history, the term "golden age" refers to a period of peace and prosperity, an epoch of cultural and technological advancement. During such an age, the governing body rules efficiently and the happiness of the populace is generally enhanced. In short, the political, social and economic conditions of the age reach a high level of both stability and growth. The history of civilization discloses few "golden ages"; besides these few sporadic so-called "golden ages," almost every era of "civilization" is replete with want, despair, strife, and man's inhumanity to man.

In Chinese history, other than the semi-legendary "golden ages" of antiquity in the times of the cultural heroes—Huang-ti, Yao and Shun—there are three major "golden ages" in recorded history. The first includes the reigns of Ch'eng and K'ang of the Chou dynasty; the second corresponds to the reigns of Wen and Ching of the Former Han dynasty; and the third coincides with the reign of Chên-kuan of the early T'ang. These "golden ages" were created neither by heaven nor by a single individual; they were brought about with the aid of perceptive theoreticians and capable ministers who counselled their sovereigns on the best means of implementing their policies and guidelines, as well as on their advisability in the first instance. There were no other pre-conditions for their emergence. In fact, all three "golden ages" were preceded by periods of turmoil and instability. However, it was after these "golden ages" that a foundation was laid for expansion externally and the evolution of society and culture internally.

This study will focus on one of these celebrated "golden ages" as a case study—that which corresponds to the reigns of Emperors Wen and

and the important ministers to assess the extent of Taoist influence on them and the manner in which they put Taoist theories into practice, and bridged the divergent realms of the sublime, ontological Taoism, and the everyday world of politics. The conclusion puts forth a claim for the desirability of the working principle of wu wei in government.

ABSTRACT

The objective of this dissertation is to closely examine Taoist influence on the government of the Early Han. Through this study can be achieved a better understanding of the reasons the Han government took the structure it did, and the manner in which the foundation was laid for a government that set a precedent for all succeeding dynasties. The theory and application of the Taoist concept of wu wei in government, as practiced by the Early Han court, is thereby revealed and evaluated.

By following Taoist principles, both the rulers and the ministers were able to run the government machinery smoothly, thus effecting the recovery of the country's economy and a new era of social stability. The masses enjoyed much greater freedom and well-being than in the Ch'in dynasty which had just ended; law and order was re-established at last; both the treasury and the granaries overflowed--it was on this basis that Han Wu-ti was able to consolidate the Han Empire.

Credit must be accorded to the meritorious ministers and rulers who adopted Taoist policy and philosophy at the inception of the dynasty. The Huang-Lao school of Taoism, which flowered at that time, largely influenced most of the important statesmen, all of whom were followers of the Huang-Lao and hsing-ming (forms and names) teachings. The discovery of the Ma-wang-tui silk manuscripts not only validates the literary evidence yielded by the Shih Chi and the Han Shu, but also reveals for the first time the content and nature of Huang-Lao thought, and reveals further that hsing-ming was an important link between Tao, creation, principles of nature, and laws for proper governing. Two substantial chapters are devoted to case studies on the members of the ruling house

Ching of the Former Han Dynasty, 180-141 B.C. In examining this period, we will discover the extent to which the society of that period was a dynamic or progressive one, and determine the extent to which Huang-Lao Taoism influenced the early Han government in bringing such a "golden age" into being.

Among the primary sources, the following are of special importance: Ssu-ma Ch'ien's Records of the Grand Historian of China; Pan Ku's History of the Former Han Dynasty; Hsün Yüeh's A Chronicle of the Former Han; Hsü T'ien-lin's Essential Records of the Western Han; Lao Kan's The Wood and Bamboo Strips of Chü Yen in the Han Dynasty; Huan K'uan's Discourses on Salt and Iron; Nancy Swann's Food and Money in Ancient China; and Takigawa Kametarō's Verifications and Commentary on the Shih Chi.

Of all the materials, Ssu-ma Ch'ien's Shih Chi and Pan Ku's Han Shu are the two most important works for this period. These two great historians had different approaches and held differing views of history. Ssu-ma Ch'ien was principally a Taoist scholar, whereas Pan Ku was more of a Confucianist. Shih Chi deals with the whole of Chinese history from the early ages down to Ssu-ma Ch'ien's time. It is a comprehensive general history centering on society as a whole and includes much detail regarding individuals and social conditions. Han Shu is also a comprehensive history, but it deals more with the state and dynasty, and centers on the emperor and his court. Ssu-ma Ch'ien wrote history primarily for himself, but with the hope that his views and perceptions on history would prove to be of interest to the public as well. Thus, he stored one copy of his Shih Chi in the state library and circulated another among the people. Pan Ku, on the other hand, wrote for the state, for which he described and recorded events as they occurred.

Both historians received imperial support and had direct access to the archives and libraries of the state. Although they distorted or misinterpreted certain facts and dates, both, on the whole, attempted to record their facts accurately and to be faithful to "what exactly happened." Kim Yu-tzu, a modern Chinese historian, comments on these two historical records in his book The History of Chinese Historiography:

> The Shih Chi is highly skilful in describing events and their principles; the contents are well-stated and unembellished, solid and not wild. The writing is straightforward and events concisely reported. There is no artificial glorifying, nor is evil concealed . . . . In describing events, the Han Shu does not arouse negative feelings towards deceitful plots, nor does it eliminate events that resisted the establishment. It provides an account without making it messy. It is sufficiently detailed and well-structured.*

If one bears in mind their minor shortcomings, and approaches them with caution, these two historical works are valuable, reliable sources for the study of the Han period. In fact, many of their accounts and facts have been proven to be accurate by archaeological excavations and by scholar-historians throughout the later dynasties.

*Yu-tzu Kim, The History of Chinese Historiography (Hong Kong: Wen Lo Publishing Co., reprint, original edition in 1944), p. 47.

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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND -- SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE PRE-CH'IN PERIOD LEADING TO THE EARLY STAGES OF THE HAN

The Ch'in-Han period in Chinese history had a seminal influence on the course of China's later development. The transitional period from the Ch'in's collapse to the Han's consolidation exemplifies the triumph of the forces of historical change. At any given moment within every period of history, forces of transformation are astir. When a certain force gathers enough momentum it takes a specific direction, and precipitates change: it is this momentum that pushes the ages onward. The Ch'in-Han period was no exception. It was a significant turning point which marked the change from political division to unity, from a feudal system to a centralized government. More importantly, it marked the establishment of new institutions and a new culture, both of which would come to serve as models for later periods to emulate and improve upon.

The Ch'in-Han period was preceded by the Chou dynasty, which comprised the Ch'un Ch'iu (722-481 B.C.) and the Warring States (403-221 B.C.) periods, respectively. The Ch'un Ch'iu was still predominantly feudal; kings and princes accorded respect to and observed the suzerainty of the Chou court. In the Warring States period, the kings and princes of the various feudal states began to assert their authority and independence, thereby gradually rendering the Chou suzerain powerless. The different states preyed on one another, annexing and destroying the weaker ones. Warfare was incessant. Due to her internal reforms and long-established power, the state of Ch'in emerged victorious over the others and unified the entire country.

In the meantime, far-ranging social and economic changes had been at work. During the early years of the Warring States period, the well-field system of the Chou was gradually eroded: the mud dykes which formed the division of fields and estates were leveled and eliminated in order to provide more arable land, and thereby increase productivity and profit; hillsides and swampy areas too were reclaimed. The feudal kings and princes became despots themselves and transformed their fiefdoms into military states. Hereditary nobles were gradually replaced by appointed officials who were recruited for their talents and assigned scaled salaries according to their ranks. The principal activities of the state were the development of internal resources, and preparation for external expansion, by the various means of diplomacy, intrigue, and military campaigns. Peasants were given land to plough and were granted the right to buy and sell land freely. Land and water resources were no longer restricted to private development, and thus an added stimulus was provided to the already burgeoning trade and industry, in areas such as herd-trading in the northwest, salt and silk on the eastern and central coasts, and metal smelting in the central north and southwest; handicrafts and local specialties were traded from one end of the country to the other. Peasants and commoners enjoyed greater freedom than ever before, and could travel to other states with minimal interference. State capitals metamorphosed into large cities.

As society became freer, social mobility also increased. Heralded by Confucius, private teaching and private academies began to spread. Those equipped with special learning, skills, or talents were readily employed at the courts of kings and princes. The services of the military strategists, the Legalists, and Yin Yang 陰陽 specialists were in great demand at that time, and these individuals soon became the kings'

favourites. Confucianists and Taoists, who were more concerned with the improvement of human society and the individual as a whole than with state boundaries, social status and the interests of the rulers, were welcomed by the populace, if not by the kings and princes. It was not until the beginning of the Han, however, that the Taoists became accepted by the court; only Han Wu-ti's (Emperor Wu, r. 140-87 B.C.) accession to the throne brought Confucianists into court favour.

Thus, during the Warring States period, social, political and economic changes fermented and evolved; by the time of the Ch'in's unification of China in 221 B.C., a new political and social structure had already emerged. Reform began as early as King Ch'in Hsiao-kung (r. 361-338 B.C.), whose adviser was Shang Yang 商鞅, a Legalist; their improvements were later consolidated by Li Ssu 李斯, another Legalist under Emperor Ch'in Shih Huang Ti. The hereditary rights of the nobility were abolished and the country divided into prefectures and districts governed by officials appointed by the central government. Agriculture and the textile industry were stimulated: productive workers were awarded free status, while the poor and unproductive were recruited as official slaves.[1] (This was less a bid to establish slavery than a social welfare measure, at least in its intention.)

By the time of Kao-tsu's reign (Liu Chi 劉季; more commonly known as Liu Pang 劉邦), Ch'in had already established itself as a model for the Han. After defeating Hsiang-yü, the hegemon from Ch'u, Liu Pang enfeoffed his meritorious generals and ministers. It was not that Liu so much wished to revive feudalism, as that circumstances compelled him to: some of those who had risen against the Ch'in were descendants of the nobles of previously conquered states, desirous of re-establishing their positions;

the commoners, on the other hand, wished to partake of the spoils and to fulfill their aspirations towards the status of nobility. Liu Pang was therefore obliged to at least partially restore the feudal system in order to pacify these dissatisfied groups. Ssu-ma Ch'ien gives a lively description of this situation in the chapter on the Marquis of Liu (Chang Liang 留侯張良):

> In the sixth year (201 B.C.), the Emperor (Liu Pang) had already enfeoffed twenty and more meritorious ministers, but the rest of the followers argued day and night over their merits without any conclusion and were not able to obtain any further enfeoffments . . . . Chang Liang advised, "Your Majesty, don't you know? They are plotting a revolt." . . . . "Your Majesty rose from among the commoners and relied on these men to secure the empire. Now Your Majesty has become the Son of Heaven, but you only enfeoffed those who have been close from old days such as Hsiao Ho and Ts'ao Shen 蕭何,曹參 , ... Now these military officers calculating the merits they won . . . fear that they will not receive a fair allotment. Some others are afraid that they may fall under suspicion for certain errors of their past and be condemned to execution.[2] Therefore, they gather together and plot rebellion."

In fact, their fears were not unfounded: after long years of war, many areas were left barren and desolate, and Liu Pang had been overly generous in granting fiefs to some of his followers and generals. Chang Liang, for example, was granted a large piece of territory in Ch'i with thirty thousand households to support him, but, being a man of wisdom,and discerning the peril of his situation, he declined the favour and was content with a more modest appointment as the Marquis of Liu,[3] a small district in Chiang Su 江蘇 Province.

Soon after enfeoffing the meritorious generals and followers, Liu Pang began to eliminate the powerful and rebellious marquisates and kingdoms, and in their place, instated his sons and close relatives to ensure his family's succession to the throne.[4] (He could never have

imagined that his queen, Empress Lü, would almost succeed in displacing the Liu family, and that it would be the Liu feudal kings who would rise up against central rule during his grandson's reign, i.e. the rebellion of the seven kingdoms in Emperor Ching's time . However, these feudal kings would discover that the foundation of a central government was already laid and was championed by ministers and commoners alike; thus, the rebellion of the feudal kings was crushed with relative ease.)

Social and economic conditions in the Ch'in, as well as at the beginning of the Han, were grim in the extreme. After unifying China, Ch'in Shih Huang Ti launched numerous public works projects. In addition, lavish palaces were built, and major expeditions dispatched to quell the Hsiang-nu nomads. Taxation was increased to two-thirds of total farm yield, and conscription was extended to include all males residing on the left hand side of the entrance gate of every county. Thus, the depleted work force could no longer maintain the minimum required level of grain production, nor could they produce enough material to clothe everyone. Though all the resources of the empire had been expropriated from the people and ceded to the government, the emperor's desires remained unsatisfied. Morale was at a low ebb; in the end, escape was the only recourse from conscription as well as tax and labour levies.[5] Under such circumstances, nascent social reform and economic development were hindered and set back, a situation that was aggravated even further by the continual wars between Liu Pang and Hsiang Yü. In Li I-chi's[6] 酈食其 words, ". . . the common people have been driven to confusion and all within the four seas are swayed and tossed in the struggle (between Ch'u and Han). The farmer abandons his plough and the weaving girl steps down from her loom, for the hearts of the world find no security or rest . . ."[7]

Thus a sizeable amount of land was abandoned by the commoners who thereby lost their means of livelihood and were threatened with bitter famine. The cost of rice rose to five thousand copper cash for one picul.[8] All able-bodied men were now in the army, leaving only the very old and the very young to transport supplies. Work was arduous; wealth scarce. Even the 'Son of Heaven" could not provide himself with four horses of the same colour to pull his carriage, and his generals and ministers were obliged to ride on ox carts. The masses had nothing (i.e. no food) to put a cover on or to be stored away.[9] Liu Pang's initial attempt at a remedy, therefore, was to allow the commoners to sell their sons and to migrate to Shu 蜀 province (present day Szechuan), where grain was relatively abundant because the region was less plagued by war. He also issued laws restricting unnecessary expenditures, reduced land tax to one-fifteenth of the total yield and apportioned officials' salaries and government expenses in accordance with available funds.[10]

Many cities had been destroyed or damaged--burning and looting was a common practice with Hsiang Yü: the Ch'in palace alone burned for more than three months. In the twelfth year of the Han (195 B.C.), most of the inhabitants of the larger cities and major capitals were either dead or had taken flight. The households that remained and could be counted amounted to only 20% to 30% of the original. Therefore, the big marquisates were now left with only about ten thousand households for their support, while the smaller ones had only five to six hundred households in their charge.[11] Because of the continual wars and a migrating population, no census could be conducted, and no record of households could be kept: according to Liang Chi-chao's calculation, the population of Han China after Liu Pang's victory was no more than five to six million;[12] in the

campaign of Peng Ch'eng 彭城, the whole Han army of five hundred sixty thousand was almost completely annihilated.[13] The people were weary and longed for peace, but in the face of such destruction and waste, the Han government would now have to rebuild from its very foundations.

Liu Pang and his ministers embarked on a plan to revive the economy and stabilize society by encouraging agriculture. Liu Pang chose Kuan Chung 關中, located near Ch'in's former capital of Hsien-yang, as the Han capital and renamed it Ch'ang-an (長安, lasting peace). Kuan Chung was selected instead of Lo-yang 洛陽 in the east because of its strategic importance as well as its wealth, which amounted to sixty percent of the entire empire, since it was there that most of the great merchants and wealthy families of the country were required to reside.[14] It also had the advantage of commanding the wide variety of natural resources in its environs. It was largely on the basis of these factors that the state of Ch'in acquired its strength.

Liu Pang had learned much through the harsh rule of the Ch'in government, the harsh living conditions of the peasant masses and the severe wars, and he understood the people's needs. Although he adopted many of the Ch'in's laws and institutions, he substantially altered their spirit and method of application. Laws and regulations were now loosely adhered to: petty crimes and misconducts that were not yet reported were pardoned;[15] on several occasions, soldiers who were faithful and performed well in battle were granted lifetime exemptions from taxes and military service.[16] Government policy centered on the promotion of agriculture as the economic base and on stimulating a return to full employment. Army regiments were disbanded and soldiers sent home to cultivate the fields. An imperial edict was issued declaring that those individuals who had gathered to take

refuge in the mountains and marshes (i.e. those who had become outlaws), were to return to their prefectures to occupy their former fields and habitations; those who had sold themselves as slaves because of famine were to be freed to become commoners once more.[17] Thus increasing numbers of people were now free to engage in productive work and the deserted fields were once again attended to.

Since manpower played an important role in production, population growth was also encouraged. Under Emperor Hsiao-hui 孝惠, unmarried girls between the ages of fifteen and thirty were required to pay a poll-tax five times great-er than the normal rate.[18] Those commoners who were filially pious, fraternally respectful, and who diligently cultivated the fields, were praised and exempted from both taxes and corvée labour.[19]

Merchants suffered the least during this transitional period from the end of the Ch'in to the early Han. With their wealth, they found it relatively easy to migrate from the war-torn districts. At the same time, they made great profits by hoarding and establishing connections with local officials and powerful families. When the Han unified the empire, the gates of cities, passes and districts were opened to the merchants, and restrictions on extracting the resources of the mountains and lakes were relaxed. Therefore, the wealthy merchants and traders were able to travel freely throughout the empire, trading every commodity imaginable.[20] Inflation became rampant. Liu Pang then decreed that no merchant could wear silk or ride in a carriage; in addition, he increased their taxation rate considerably.[21] Furthermore, merchants and their descendants were barred from government office.[22] But although the merchant class was universally despised, it should be noted that its activities were not thereby suppressed, and in fact, its trading activities did to a certain

extent act as a catalyst to the reviving economy. In less than three decades, agriculture, commerce and industry all climbed to unprecedented heights under the laissez-faire policy of the Han Court.

CHAPTER II

THE INFLUENCE OF THE TAOIST THOUGHT OF HUANG-LAO

A. The Relation Between Legalist and Taoist Thought

During the Warring States period, Taoist thought was already fermenting and its popularity was on the rise. The Legalists had established their own school of thought and sold their services to the feudal kings and princes, but the original derivation of the core of their teaching can be traced to Confucianism and Taoism. Ingenious as they were, they were highly innovative in extending Taoism to hitherto unexplored regions, such as, most notably, the "techniques of government," 治術 ; it was Shen Tao 慎到, primarily, who extended Taoism to Legalism. Shen Pu-hai, Kuan Tzu, and Han Fei Tzu, 申不害, 管子, 韓非子, were the more prominent of the Legalists who developed their system of thought from Taoism. Ssu-ma Ch'ien pointed out that Han Fei was fond of both the study of hsing-ming 刑名[23]--the conformity of form, name, and reality--and the technique of law. Han Fei's knowledge and teachings were founded on his study of Lao Tzu and the Yellow Emperor,[24] from which resulted his two short books on the Lao Tzu--"Understanding Lao Tzu" and "Allusions from the Lao Tzu" 解老篇, 喻老篇. The former, a commentary on and exegesis of Lao Tzu's thought, is faithful to the original Taoist teachings and the comments are highly insightful. The latter, however, is the development of his own ideas and his own understanding of Taoism, as applied to the politico-legal realm of rulers and governments: using deductive and dialectical methods, he formulates inflexible theories of government.

The Tao Te Ching states:

> Tao is always in wu wei (non-interfering action or devoid of unnecessary action) and nothing is unaccomplished. If the kings and marquises can maintain it

> (i.e. practice wu wei) all of the ten thousand things will transform of themselves.[25]

The next chapters continues:

> When Tao is lost, virtue is resorted to.
> When virtue is lost, kindness is resorted to.
> When kindness is lost, righteousness is resorted to.
> When righteousness is lost, propriety (or rites to regulate behaviour) is resorted to.
> Propriety is (the result of) the weakening of loyalty and trustworthiness and is the beginning of chaos.[26]

Since this was a time of incessant wars as well as underhanded scheming among both kings and ministers, these Taoist ideas were well suited to the problems at hand and gradually gained sway with much of the populace, the majority of whom now yearned for quiet, peaceful lives, while a few even took to the mountains and lakes to become recluses. Those who had become disenchanted with politics and profiteering turned to a search for good health and longevity: a search that later developed into that for physical immortality. Even Ch'in Shih Huang Ti seriously attempted to procure a drug of immortality reputed to exist in the Eastern Seas. Necromancers or practitioners of the occult now emerged as a new class of "professionals" who specialized in this offshoot of Taoism known as Fang Shih 方士. Some of them became alchemists and naturalists, conducting research into various branches of physiology, pharmacology and medicine. However, the majority of the people could not rise above the oppressive rule of the feudal kings and princes. Merchants and large-scale landowners reaped substantial profits incommensurable with the wretched lot of the peasants. Honest Legalists like Han Fei, after studying Taoism, came to believe that the chaos of the time could best be set to rights by strong rulership and an efficient government machinery.[27] "When the Tao is lost, virtue is resorted to" would be interpreted by serious Legalists

like Han Fei, as a directive to seek the second best when the best is lost. In the Warring States period, the political situation was anything but conducive to the practice of wu wei; thus, Han Fei decided to apply strict measures to deal with this un-Taoist situation by adapting many ideas from the Lao Tzu to the Legalistic framework of his political theories. The Lao Tzu says:

> Get rid of sageliness, discard the intellect,
> and the people will benefit a hundred-fold.[28]

By applying this idea to government, Han Fei's intention was to begin by rendering the governed uneducated and subservient and the ruler and the government, as a consequence, efficient and powerful.

Han Fei also utilized the principle of wu wei as a guide for the ruler, albeit in a rudimentary fashion: the Taoist wu wei of naturalness and spontaneity became a governing technique for the ruler, who delegated his activities to his ministers and subjects, and demanded absolute obedience from his subjects, and ultimate control. This "technique" of wu wei was already a major deviation from the original, and had become a highly restrictive political principle. Still, by applying these Legalist methods, the Ch'in rulers did succeed in strenthening their state and, consequently, unified the empire as well. Han Fei wanted to devise a just legal system and an efficient, institutionalized government. He did not intend it to be cruel or inhumane in its application, merely stressing that it should be strict and impartial in the interests of efficiency: even the ruler himself was required to obey the system. Ssu-ma Chien's father, Ssu-ma T'an, in his treatise on the main teachings of the six schools, evaluated this Legalism as "very severe and lacking benevolence, yet its distinction between ruler and ministers, what is above

and what is below, is unalterable."[29] Indeed, the Legalists should be credited for recognizing the problems of the time and offering an "effective" alternative. The undesirable side-effects--the oppressive rule of the Ch'in, and the extreme suffering that ensued--should not be attributed to the Legalists themselves but rather to the poor implementation of their ideas, and to the treachery of the envious, contentious statesmen. In fact, most of the Legalists, including Han Fei and Li-Ssu themselves, died victims of these plots. Had their plans not been thereby aborted, by factors beyond both their control and their wits, the Legalists could well have led China in developing the first "government by law" to which even the monarch himself would have been subject.

Two conclusions can thus far be drawn: first, Taoism had an all-pervasive influence on the pre-Ch'in period, particularly via the Lao Tzu: the Moists (School of Mo Tzu), the Yin-Yangists, and even Chuang Tzu now joined the Legalists in their study of and references to the Lao-Tzu. Commentaries on the Lao Tzu were numerous and its circulation wide. This trend continued through to the Han period, as, for example, in the commentaries of Master Ho Sheng and Wang Pi 河上公注本及王弼注本). The work's value and popularity was further revealed by its inclusion among the items that were customarily buried with the dead.[30]

Secondly, the increasing influence of Taoism on the actual applications of Legalist thought during pre-Ch'in times and in the first few decades of the Han is now evident. In pre-Ch'in times, Legalist statesmen translated their theories into laws that were to be enforced by all strata of government. Although they had studied and were influenced by Taoism, these Legalists had expounded a new system in their own right, of which Taoism was only a substratum or undercurrent. While purely Legalist thought had

inspired the advances made by the State of Ch'in, by the time of the Han, the Taoist undercurrent had surfaced, and played an extremely important role in the Han's development and consolidation of the country. All of the influential, meritorious ministers who took part in the founding of the Han, such as Chang Liang and Ch'en P'ing, whose Taoist leanings will be discussed in the latter part of this work, were "Taoists in their bones and Legalists in their skins."

Taoist undercurrents in Legalist thought were brought to the surface, for the most part, by the socio-political conditions of the Han. The Ch'in and the Warring States periods had been overly oppressive and harsh. Now, since all the people "under heaven" longed for peace and rest, and to "revive their deadened spirits and bodies", the appeal of Taoism was even more persuasive than it had ever been. As conditions in the beginning of the Han remained chaotic, law and order had to be maintained, and the centralized structure of the Ch'in government proved handy and desirable. Therefore, in following the Ch'in, the Han government took on a Legalist outlook even though its spirit and atmosphere was Taoist. Laws were simplified, and as far as possible, the masses were left undisturbed. A Legalist structure thus became the means to a Taoist end.

B. The Origin of Huang-Lao and the Academy of Chih-hsia

The study of the influence of Taoist thought during this time, particularly that of Huang-ti, the Yellow Emperor, and Lao Tzu, which is hereafter referred to as Huang-Lao 黃老, is indispensable to any understanding of the early Han period. The development of Huang-Lao thought was directly linked with that of the Taoist School. Although Lao Tzu was considered the founder of the Taoist School, many Taoists[31] traced the origin of Taoism to Huang-ti, a "super-Taoist" (in fact, a cultural hero),

an expert on the art of government, military affairs, astrology, natural science, medicine and music. Since politics and theories of government were the prime interests of the thinkers and princes of the pre-Ch'in period, the political thought of Huang-ti and Lao Tzu, which had much in common with their own theories, became an important element in their studies. Lao Tzu's ultimate ideal was the abolition of government, although certain prerequisites had to be fulfilled before that ideal could be achieved. To lay the groundwork for such a state, some form of government would be necessary. Since Huang-ti held a similar view of life and government, the ideas of the two were studied together; thus the term Huang-Lao came to be used to describe these followers of the Tao.[32] As the subject matter covered by Huang-Lao was so broad, these followers became further sub-divided into other schools such as astrologers, Yin-Yangists, occultists, political theorists, and immortalists. From the principles and practices of occultists and immortalists would later arise the full-blown religious Taoism of the Later Han period. Those who concerned themselves with the political and philosophical aspects of Huang-Lao later became the Legalists 法家, Sophists 辯士, Nominalists 名家, Political and Military Strategists 政治及軍事家.

Huang-ti's original work had already been lost for some time, although his teachings had been kept alive by the oral tradition. In an oral tradition, the teaching must be understood before it can be passed on. For centuries knowledge had been transmitted in this fashion: notes and commentaries could prove helpful, but when they were secured by "outsiders" they were always subject to various misinterpretations. Without the confirmation of the authentic masters, new interpretations of a teaching would give rise to new sects and new schools. In archaic times, few written records were kept, however, other than official records of such things as eclipses,

calendar proceedings, sacrificial offerings and state ceremonies. The reason was simple: the number of words for expression was limited, and most of the writing of the time had to be laboriously inscribed on bones, shells, and later, on clay and bronze vessels. It was not until Confucius' time that writing became more evolved and widespread. In the latter part of the Ch'un Ch'iu and in the Warring States period, many masters and disciples began to record their teaching on silk fabrics, wood and bamboo tablets: The Analects of Confucius, The Bamboo Annals and The Military Art of Sun Tzu are paradigmatic examples. During the Warring States period, Huang-ti's various teachings in turn began to appear in written form. According to the Treatise on Literature in the Han Shu, writings attributed to Huang-ti include the Four Classics of Huang-ti, Inscribed Sayings of Huang-ti (six pieces), Huang-ti on King and Ministers (10 chapters), Miscellany on Huang-ti (58 chapters), Huang-ti on the Great Simplicity (20 chapters) and Huang-ti's Speeches (40 chapters). Although some of the writings might have been forgeries, the majority were recorded and edited by masters and scholars of the time.[33] In addition, masters of other schools, not infrequently, were wont to quote from Huang-ti or attribute certain verses to him, as, for example in the Chuang Tzu, The Spring and Autumn of the Lü Family 呂氏春秋 and Huai Nan Tzu 淮南子.[34] As a consequence, Huang-ti's teachings were well established from the Warring States period to the Early Han.

Similarly, the research of Ko Mo-jo 郭沫若, a renowned Chinese historian, reveals that the Tao Teh Ching was not written by Lao Tzu, but by disciples of the later Warring States period, since Lao Tzu was believed to be the teacher of Yang Chu 楊朱, and a senior of Confucius,[35] and writing books was not yet a common practice during the Ch'un Ch'iu. It is

not surprising that when the writing of books and the recording of ancient teachings later became a trend, the teachings of both Huang-ti and Lao Tzu were recorded by their disciples and successors. Later scholars and historians grouped the two sets of writings together as Huang-Lao, and in the early Han, Huang-Lao was still referred to as a distinct school.

Huang-ti's philosophy bears a striking resemblance to Lao Tzu's. In the Inscribed Sayings on the Golden Man 金人銘, one of the six pieces in The Inscribed Sayings of Huang-ti, one verse says: "ever continuous without ending, it could form a huge net."[36] In the Tao Teh Ching there is a similar verse: "Immeasurable is heaven's net; though sparsely knit it does not lose anything in it."[37] In fact, there are two verses in the Lao Tzu which are identical to two other verses in the Inscribed Sayings on the Golden Man: "Those who are violent will not come to a peaceful death"[38] and "the Way of Heaven has no private affections, but always accords with the good."[39] Further, many other verses in Huang-ti's writings are similar in meaning as well as in style to those in the Lao Tzu, such as those which stress maintaining a weaker position, as well as non-struggle, humility, simplicity and the curbing of desires. In short, both writings propound the same philosophy in similar terms. It was no coincidence that both writings appeared during the Warring States period; rather, they were both the product of the socio-political conditions of that period of Chinese history.

Chuang Tzu, a prominent Taoist and naturalist living in the same period, has, for several reasons, not yet been mentioned. Chuang Tzu's exposition of Taoism centred, primarily, on the Taoist philosophy of life: he was concerned more with the understanding of nature and Tao, and with the importance of personal cultivation than he was with government. His teaching

was favoured mainly by an esoteric group of followers of the Tao and was overshadowed during this period by Huang-Lao's more popular emphasis on politics and government. Not until the end of the Han Dynasty and the succeeding Wei and Ts'in dynasties did his teaching surface and develop into the dual currents of mysterious studies 玄學 and pure discussions, 清談, introduced by scholars and officials like Wang Pi, Ho Yen, Chi K'ang 王弼，何晏，稽康, and his group (Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove). As a consequence, the Taoism of the pre-Ch'in and early Han period is called Huang-Lao, whereas that of the post-Han and Wei-Ts'in periods is called Lao-Chuang, 老莊 .

The Taoist School originated in the coastal state of Ch'i, in present-day Shantung Province. To the east lay the three immortal islands of P'eng-lai, Fang-chiang, and Yeng-chou 蓬萊，方丈，瀛州; on the summit of Mount T'ai, the sacred mountain to the west, rulers were said to communicate with heaven. Huang-ti, for example, was very fond of touring the five famous mountains[40], where he met with the heavenly deities; two of these mountains, T'ai and Tung-lai, are in the State of Ch'i, and it was on the former of these, as well, that Huang-ti performed the Feng 封 sacrificial ceremony.[41] Moreover, the inscription on the sacrificial vessels of Ch'i reveals that King Wei of Ch'i 齊威王 traced his lineage back to Huang-ti.[42] The veracity of this legend is questionable; people liked to claim powerful figures as their ancestors in order to enhance their status, and King Wei of Ch'i may well have done likewise. It reveals, however, that Huang-ti was well revered and accepted in the State of Ch'i. Throughout all prior history, most of the fang shih 方士, (e.g. the immortalists and Yin-Yangists), as well, had been said to originate from Ch'i.

The practice of inviting learned and talented people to be house-guests, popular in the Ch'un Ch'iu period, was also taken up in the State of Ch'i

during the reigns of Kings Wei and Hsüan, and the capital city, Lin Tsï, 臨淄, became the centre where scholars and various masters congregated. An office, established at the outskirts of the city to organize the discussions and lectures of these learned individuals, later came to be known as the Academy of Chih-hsia 稷下. In the Hereditary Houses of Tien Keng and Chung Wan is written:

> King Hsüan was fond of literary scholars and wandering sophists. Those like Tsou Yen, Shun Yu-k'ün, T'ien P'ien, Chieh Tzu, Shen Tao, Wan Yuan, totalling seventy-six, were all granted the rank of Ta Fu. They did not have any duty of government but only carried out discussions. Therefore, the learned scholars at the Chih-hsia Academy of Ch'i became boisterous once more, and their number reached hundreds and hundreds.[43]

The phrase "became boisterous once more" in the quotation, indicates that even before the reign of King Hsüan, this academic office had flourished. Most of the learned scholars had written books on various methods of putting chaos to rights. Tsou Yen 鄒衍, also known as Tsou Tzu[44], a Yin-Yangist, was from the State of Ch'i, as were the Taoists T'ien P'ien, Chieh Tzu and Shun Yü-k'un. Shen Tao, a Taoist-Legalist from the State of Chao, and Huan Yuan, a Taoist from Ch'u, both came to the State of Ch'i to join the Academy. All of these learned men had studied the "techniques of the Tao and Virtue of Huang-Lao", and expounded their meanings in their writings.[45] Many scholars today recognize their contribution to the development of Chinese culture.[46]

Lü Hsiang 呂尚, better known as the Grand Master Wang 太公望, or Grand Master Chiang 姜太公, ranked second only in importance to Huang-ti among the prominent ancient educators. His ancestors were at one time given charge of the four great mountains and enfeoffed in Lü (呂, in the State of Ch'i); thus they had changed their surname from Chiang 姜, to Lü.[47] King Wen of Chou met Lü Hsiang, then an aged and impoverished hermit, and

welcomed him to his court as a teacher. With this aged recluse as an advisor, he was able to secure two-thirds of the "land under heaven" 天下. When King Wen passed away and was succeeded by King Wu, Lü Hsiang retained his post as Master (i.e. the position of a National Master in giving advice to to the king on all matters, particularly administrative and military affairs). In a few years' time, King Wu conquered the Wicked Sovereign of Shang (or Yin) and took control of the entire country as the "Son of Heaven". Grand Master Wang was enfeoffed in Ch'i, the land of his ancestors.[48]

At that time, Ch'i remained uncivilized; barbarians dwelled on its eastern border. When Master Wang took control, he reorganized the administrative machinery, simplified rites and ceremonies according to the local customs and practices, and fostered the growth and profitablity of industry, commerce, fishing and salt-making. Soon Ch'i became a great state and attracted a great many immigrants from other areas of the country.[49]

The State of Lu 魯, adjoining Ch'i on the west, was the fountainhead of the School of Confucianism. The Duke of Chou and his descendants were enfeoffed in Lu; Confucius, his admirer, and a later disciple, Mencius, were both from Lu;[50] thus, Confucianist rites and rituals were highly developed there. The neighbouring states of Ch'i and Lu provide a paradigmatic comparison of Taoist and Confucianist modes of government. An anecdote relates that the Lord of Lu, Po Ch'in 伯禽, eldest son of the Duke of Chou, was enfeoffed in Lu; it took him three years to report to the Duke of Chou about his administration. When asked his reasons for the delay, he replied that he had had to alter the people's customs and reform their rites and ceremonies, and they had had to observe a mourning period of three years, after the death of their former sovereign of Shang.[51] Grand Master Wang, however, enfeoffed in Ch'i at the same time as Po Ch'in, was able to report to the Duke of Chou after only five months. When asked why

he was reporting so quickly, he replied "I simplified the rites between lord and subjects and let the people continue their usual customs. That was the reason."[52] Upon Po Ch'in's report, the Duke of Chou exclaimed: "Alas, in the later generations Lu will be serving Ch'i (just as in the ritual of a subject facing north to serve his lord who faces south). If an administration is not simple and easy, the people will not feel close to it. If it is plain and easy, having affinity with the people, the people will, as a certainty, go to it."[53] Thus Grand Master Wang's Taoist approach was highly praised and became a precedent for later political theorists to contemplate. His writings include the Liu T'ao 六韜 and the Yin Fu 陰符, the former dealing with the way of government and military affairs, and the latter with the way of Heaven interacting with human events. Most of the sayings in the Tao Teh Ching find their reflection in his works.[54]

Because the foundation of the Taoist School was established in Ch'i, by Huang-ti, Grand Master Wang and their followers, those who wished to learn Taoist techniques migrated there. Thus, two sons of Lo I 樂毅, a famous general from the State of Chao 趙—Lo Chia and Lo Chên 樂臣 — escaped to Kao Mi 高密 in the State of Ch'i when Chao was conquered by the State of Ch'in. Lo Chên (Master Lo Chên), well known in Ch'i, cultivated himself by studying the sayings of Huang-ti and Lo Tzu, and was admitted as a fine master.[55] His original teacher was the Venerable Old Man On The River 河上丈人, of obscure origin, who taught An Ch'i 安期生. An Ch'i in turn taught Lo Chia, Lo I's other son, who, in turn, taught his brother, Lo Chên. Master Lo Chên then taught Master Kai, who taught at Kao Mi 高密 and Chiao-hsi 膠西. Master Kai was the teacher of Ts'ao Shen, the Prime Minister of Ch'i and later of Han.[56] Grand Master Wang and Master Kai will be further discussed below, in conjunction with Chang Liang and Ts'ao Shen.

The Venerable Old Man on the River was the first commentator on the Lao Tzu. Master An Ch'i and his teachers, Master Mao Hsi and Master Kai, all lived in Ch'i. Master Yellow Stone 黃石公, the teacher of Chang Liang, also originated from Ch'i. Besides these masters from Ch'i, there were other Huang-Lao hermit-masters who chose to remain obscure.[57]

C. Taoist Thought and the Imperial Family: The Case of Kao-tsu (Liu Pang)

The roots and the influence of Huang-Lao in the State of Ch'i have now been explored; what was the influence of Huang-Lao on the Han Court? The founder of the Han, Liu Pang, was a mere commoner from P'ei 沛, who was neither a Taoist nor a Confucianist; in fact, he revealed his scorn of Confucianism by showing contempt towards Confucian scholars.[58] He had, nonetheless, some Taoist qualities: upon taking hold of the reins of government, he simplified the unwieldy multitude of restrictive laws and punishments inherited from the Ch'in, and his methods were, in the main, in conformity with Lao Tzu's thought. The Tao Teh Ching says: "After a great war there are bound to be years of destitution."[59] That certainly was the case after the struggle between Liu Pang and Hsiang Yü. Huang-Lao's ideas well suited the social and political conditions from the end of the Ch'in to the early Han, and enhanced the popularity of Taoism among the masses. Although Liu Pang was not actually a student of Taoism, he was its great supporter. He saw that the principles of Huang-Lao applied very well to his new régime and thus very readily accepted the counsel of his Taoist ministers. He was described as "having a broad and open mind, very accommodating, magnanimous, benevolent and full of loving care, fond of listening to good advice, knowing people and assigning them appropriate responsibilities, according to their talents and abilities."[60] Since he possessed the qualities extolled by the Tao Teh Ching, Liu Pang attracted many followers, and

defeated his aristocratic opponents. One such follower was Chang Liang, one of his most capable Taoist advisors, who was highly proficient in applying the teachings of Huang-ti and Lao Tzu to existing circumstances. Even prior to meeting Liu Pang, he schemed to single-handedly assassinate Emperor Ch'in Shih Huang; the plot failed, however, and he was compelled to go into hiding. Later, when the various rebels--commoners as well as long-established aristocrats--rose against the Ch'in, Chang Liang offered his services to those "rebel leaders", but they could not comprehend his ideas and shunned his advice. Finally, on encountering Liu Pang, who welcomed and valued his advice and schemes, he vowed to support Liu to the end, saying that Liu was "heavenly endowed" (in understanding the Tao of things).[61]

Several further incidents can be cited to illustrate Liu Pang's exemplification of Huang-Lao Taoism. When Liu Pang was embroiled in pitched battle with Hsiang Yü, he "kept his cool" on numerous occasions by avoiding direct confrontation with Hsiang Yü's stronger forces, thus acting in accordance with Lao Tzu's injunctions: "knowing the masculine, keep to the feminine"; and "a skilful fighter is never angry and the one who is skilful in out-performing the enemy never competes (with brute force)."[62] Consequently, although Hsiang Yü's forces were superior, Liu Pang ultimately triumphed.

Under the persuasive influence of Lady Ch'i, Liu Pang was, at one point, on the verge of attempting to replace the heir-apparent, his son by Empress Lü, with Ju-i 如意, his son by Lady Ch'i. Empress Lü was apprehensive and sought the counsel of Chang Liang. Chang said that there were four old men whose assistance the Emperor had long endeavoured to win; however, they had retreated to the mountains, refusing to become ministers of the Han. Since, Chang Liang conjectured, they were highly valued and respected by the

emperor, Liu Pang might change his mind if they could be prevailed upon to back the heir-apparent. Empress Lü immediately complied with Chang's advice and the four old men yielded. Later, at a banquet, the heir-apparent (who was later to become Emperor Hui) served the emperor with the four in attendance, all of whom were reported to be over eighty, with glowing white beards and eyebrows. The emperor inquired as to their identities, whereupon they announced their names—Master Tung-yüan, Gentleman Chiao-li, Ch'i Li-chi, and Master Hsia-huang.[63] When his astonishment subsided, the emperor invited them to take charge of and to assist the heir-apparent, whose claim to the throne he no longer opposed, because, as he said to Lady Ch'i, " . . . these four men have come to his aid. Like a pair of great wings they have borne him aloft where we cannot reach him . . . ."[64]

The position of prime minister was of vital significance in this nation-building period of the Han. The prime minister's task was to assist the "Son of Heaven" in the administration of the "hundred thousand matters" of the country; he was required to take notice of public affairs, as well as of the changes of Yin and Yang (in nature) and the four seasons, on the basis of which he then submitted his proposals to the emperor. The well-being of the country was to a large degree effected by his ability and performance in management, and the succession of competent men to the office was of vital concern to the throne. Thus, when Liu Pang was seriously ill from an arrow wound incurred while subduing a rebellion by one of his generals, Empress Lü asked him who would fill Prime Minister Hsiao's position after Hsiao's death; Liu Pang said that Ts'ao Shen should do so. The empress questioned him further, asking who could be appointed in succession to Ts'ao Shen, and he replied that Wang Ling and Ch'en P'ing could be appointed, and Chou P'o could be the Grand Commandant, to safeguard his own House of Liu.[65] As will be revealed in a later chapter, both Ts'ao Shen

and Ch'en P'ing were Taoist ministers; it is significant that Liu Pang considered them the most capable candidates for the position.

Thus, although Liu Pang was not an avowed Taoist, he abided by and well understood Taoist principles, from which his success derived. Knowing his ministers' characters, personalities and abilities, he made good use of them as far as he was able. At the end of his life he entrusted his sons and the country to his Taoist ministers, without whose direction the country would have reverted to the chaos and warfare of earlier times.

The Case of Emperor Hui

After Liu's death in the fourth month of 195 B.C., his heir-apparent ascended the throne as Emperor Hui 惠帝. The weak and pious young emperor was easily manipulated by Empress Lü, a determined, ambitious and cruel woman, who, before long, reshuffled the court and enfeoffed many of her Lü family members, disposing of anyone who impeded her. The emperor was overpowered, and fell to languorous indulgence in palace entertainment. When he was only twenty-three, he contracted a serious illness and soon died (he reigned from 194 B.C. to 188 B.C., and died in the eighth month of that year. The S.C. has not given a separate account of his reign).

Though under the sway of the empress, Emperor Hui nevertheless instituted several public welfare policies which were in line with the Taoist policy, established by his father, of giving the people rest and reviving the country's economy. Upon his succession, he granted many noble ranks to the lesser officials, soldiers as well as commoners. Laws and punishments were eased to allow the subject greater freedom of action.[66] For example, commoners who were over seventy or less than ten years of age, and who had committed corporally punishable offences, were all acquited.[67] In the third month of the fourth year of his reign, at the capping ceremony

which marked his twentieth year and his attainment of adulthood, Emperor Hui granted amnesty to "all under heaven". At the same time, he reduced the number and severity of the laws and regulations that hampered the petty officials and commoners; the criminal offence of possessing books was also abolished. The numerous restrictive laws that descended from the Ch'in were thus gradually tempered, and sometimes eliminated, throughout the country. In his sixth year of reign, the Western City Market of Ch'ang-an was built, to meet the rising volume of trade, and the Ao Granary was repaired in preparation for lean years and to provide a supply of food to the army.[68]

In his eulogy to Emperor Hui, Pan Ku writes:

> Hsiao-hui (Emperor) cultivated love of his relatives within the family; outside the family (in administration) he honoured his prime ministers . . . . His sense of benevolence and respect was indeed at its utmost. When he heard the admonition of Shu-sun T'ung, he was filled with awe. When he accepted Prime Minister Ts'ao's (Ts'ao Shen) presentation he was delighted at heart. He may be called a benevolent and magnanimous ruler. It happened that his perfect virtue was damaged and injured by Empress Lü. What a great pity indeed![69]

The Case of Empress Lü

Absorbed with strengthening her position, ennobling members of her own family and controlling the ministers, Empress Lü was little grieved by Emperor Hui's passing. By means of ruthless stratagems, she established young puppet-emperors while remaining herself the de facto ruler. As military command lay in the hands of her brothers, ministers loyal to the House of Liu could do nothing but await an opportunity to regain control.

In the seventh year of her rulership, in 181 B.C., Empress Lü was said to have been bitten by a blue dog, and the diviner interepreted this as the revenge of the spirit of Liu Ju-i, the younger brother of Emperor Hui who

had been murdered at her command. Empress Lü fell seriously ill from the wound and died four months later.[70] Without their leader, the Lü brothers and relatives were quickly defeated by the loyal ministers and descendants of the House of Liu who staged a counter-action to restore the Liu. The contest between the two camps was short-lived; its popular support secured the re-establishment of the House of Liu. The King of Tai, the fourth son of Liu Pang, of pious and sagely repute, was appointed the succeeding "Son of Heaven" by a consensus of the ministers. He reigned for twenty-three years and was accorded the posthumous title of Emperor Wen the Filial.[71]

Empress Lü had been by no means a Taoist: her harshness and machinations sharply diverged from the principles of Taoism. However, so occupied was she with augmenting her own family's power, that she did not much alter the structure and policy of the established government. Therefore, administration of the country during her reign continued in much the same way it had under Emperor Hui. Emperor Hui had intended to abolish the death penalty, the 'three sets of relatives' and the ordinance against libel, all of which originated in the Ch'in and were, at least initially, retained by the Han. Since Emperor Hui died before these improvements had been effected, Empress Lü ensured that they were carried out. In addition, she granted noble ranks to commoners, as Emperor Hui had done.

Though she was not a Taoist, Empress Lü's reign caused little actual damage to the country. For example, while Emperor Hui still lived, Empress Lü received an insulting letter from the chieftain of the Hsiung-nu (the Huns), which so outraged her that she was about to dispatch an expedition to attack them. However, upon realizing that the Hsiung-nu were strong at that time and that the country was still recuperating from its wounds, she adopted a conciliatory policy towards them and thus prevented the country

from being plunged into war once more.[73] Nor had Empress Lü's usurpation of power brought much harm to social conditions or to the economy; it was the imperial family who suffered. Regarding the reigns of Emperor Hui and Empress Lü, Ssu-ma Chien comments:

> During the reigns of (Emperor) Hsiao-hui and Empress Kao-tzu (Empress Lü), people within the seas (the whole country) were able to leave behind them the sufferings of the Warring States period. Both ruler and subjects wished to rest in the atmosphere of wu wei (minimum interfering action by the government). Therefore, Emperor Hui just folded his hands in unruffled garments, and Empress Kao-tzu, a female lord in the name of an emperor, administered the government without going out of her private chamber doors. Yet the world was peaceful and quiet; physical or bodily punishments and penalties were rarely applied while the people busied themselves in sowing and harvesting. Clothing and food multiplied and became abundant.[74]

Thus, despite the transient uprisings by the generals in Liu Pang's time, and the succession crisis in the House of Liu under Empress Lü, social conditions and the economy revived and stabilized. By the time of the Wen-Ching period, the country, despite some disruptions (e.g. Rebellion of the Seven Kingdoms), was already on its way to growth and prosperity.

The Case of Emperor Wen

Hsiao-wen Ti (Emperor Wen the Filial; Liu Hêng 劉恒 was his proper name) was twenty-three when he ascended the throne; he reigned from 180 to 157 B.C. However, prior to his accession, he advised the ministers to choose King Chiao of Ch'u 楚王交, the younger brother of Liu Pang, as the new Son of Heaven, in the same spirit as Emperors Yao and Shun of antiquity, who had yielded their thrones to the virtuous and capable, and been highly praised. Only after he had made this suggestion three times and the ministers had remained adamant, did he finally accept the office.[75]

During Emperor Wen's reign, Huang-Lao thought was further incorporated

into government practice. He was strongly affected by the works of those who advocated hsing-ming, conformity of names with reality,[76] and his wife, Empress Tou 竇后, was also a devotee of the works of Huang-ti and Lao Tzu. Thus, the heir-apparent—the future Emperor Ching—as well as the grandson who was to later ascend the throne as Emperor Wu, and the whole Tou family, were all obliged to study Huang-ti and Lao Tzu, and to revere their techniques.[77]

Empress Tou's influence was long-lasting and significant: she was queen for twenty-three years, lived a further twenty-two years after Emperor Wen's death as both Empress Dowager, since she was Emperor Ching's mother, for the sixteen years of his reign, as well as "Great Grand Empress" for six years, as the grandmother of Emperor Wu, until her death in 136 B.C. Under her influence, most of the ministers were Taoists or Legalists (or Legalistic Taoists). Confucian scholars were not disregarded entirely, and were granted official titles as erudites, though these were not accompanied with any real authority.[78] Only after Empress Tou's death did the Confucianists re-emerge politically, by gaining the favour of Emperor Wu.

During the Wen-Ching period, the influence of Taoist ideas, particularly those of Huang-Lao, was penetrating. Ssu-ma T'an, Ssu-ma Ch'ien's father, an official historian at Emperor Wu's court, lived during this period, and witnessed the effect of the employment of Huang-Lao ideas by Emperors Wen and Ching and their ministers.[79] After Empress Tou's death, the Confucianists contrived to persuade Emperor Wu of the political importance of Confucian doctrines and they gradually assumed the Taoist-Legalists' role as administrators. However, it is important to note that many professed Confucianists had by now incorporated other elements of Taoism into their thought and theories; Tung Chung-shu, for example, introduced the Yin-Yang

and the five elements into his Confucian system and was highly admired by Emperor Wu. Having witnessed the changeover at the Han Court, the decline in the spirit of Huang-Lao, as manifested, for example, in the increasingly imperialistic absolutism of government that Taoism opposed, Ssu-ma T'an composed an enduring, insightful, and highly valued treatise, which discussed the important themes of the six (major) schools of thought--the Yin-Yang, Confucian, Mohist, Nominalist, Legalist and Taoist Schools. His critical comments on each are very much to the point, and reveal his perspicuity. The virtues and shortcomings of each school are weighed: the School of Taoism receives his strongest recommendation for its easy adaptability and utility in virtually all circumstances, while the other schools are adjudged rigid and uncompromising in their principles. The treatise says:

> The Taoist school enables people to concentrate their minds on the things they do. In their activity there is no rigid form. They enjoy and derive satisfaction from whatever is around them (the ten thousand things). Its technique (of Tao) is to act according to the smooth succession of the Yin and the Yang, to pick out the good points of Confucianism and Mohism, to grasp the essence of Nominalism and Legalism, to handle human affairs by following the trends of time and events. . . . Its ideas are terse and easy to master. It accomplishes more with less effort.[80]

He also points out that the practical aspect of the Taoist School is easily implemented, (because things simply play their roles according to their natures and do not need man to exert too much effort, which is merely a product of his impatience and uncontrolled desires) although the terminology used by the school is difficult to comprehend[81] (because one has to understand the workings of Tao, which is so pervasive, profound, and "mysterious", before one can claim to know the correct meaning of the Taoist writings). His treatise continues:

> The Taoist School advocated wu wei (non-action) and also talked about wu pu wei (nothing is left undone) . . . . 'Be empty' (or non-dwelling) is their basis, and 'let things be at their nature' is their method of application . . . . There can be law and there can be no law, all according to the time (and circumstances) and the matter . . . . Being empty of attachment is the constant way of Tao, and going along with the nature (of the people's minds) is the crux of the way of a king. . . .[82]

Ssu-ma T'an derived the ideas set forth in his treatise from studying historical developments from the end of the Ch'un Ch'iu period to his own times, and he saw that the Taoist School had proposed a wise, efficient, and practical political philosophy. He found proof for these ideas in events which occurred during the initial stages of the Han, and he himself witnessed the Wen-Ching period, which applied Taoist principles to the overall policy of the administration, although the circumstances of the time demanded that the actual implementation of the policy have a Legalist framework. The highest political ideal of Lao Tzu, or of the Taoist in general, was wu wei, the self-realization of every individual, including the king; ultimately, there would be no need for the existence of a government because each individual would "govern" himself and act according to his 'own nature' and inner inclination. Lao Tzu advocated the elimination of law, rather than the "governing by law" proposed by the Legalists. However, as conditions had not developed to the point at which people could govern themselves, the "Legalistic Taoists" instituted government by simple and minimal laws as a transitional measure. It was here that Taoist and Legalist thought met, and this compromise was precisely what the Wen-Ching administration implemented. Ssu-ma T'an's treatise reveals the extent to which the Legalists absorbed and modified Taoist political theory, as well as the derivation of the policies of the Wen-Ching administration from Taoist theory—policies which had both a Taoist spirit and Taoist goals.

Archaeological discoveries in recent years have shed more light on this early Han period: further evidence for the influence of Taoism during that time has been provided by the unearthing of many ancient manuscripts lost for over two thousand years. Three Han tombs were excavated in Chang-sha (Hunan Province) between 1972 and 1974. In Ma-wang-tui Han Tomb No. 3, an astonishing collection of silk manuscripts came to light, which covers three major schools of thought: the Military Strategist, Legalist and Taoist Schools; also included are works in the fields of geography, astrology, calendars, and medicine. Upon being processed by Chinese archaeologists and historians, the manuscripts were immediately put into print; thus, they are available for the present study. Of concern here are the Lao Tzu, versions A and B, Ching-fa (經法, The Constant Law, or Principle), Shih-liu-ching (十六經, The Sixteen Classics),[83] Ch'eng (稱, Balancing), and Tao Yüan (道原, Tao—The Origin).

Lao Tzu, version A, is written in the cursive siaochuan 小篆, style predominant in the Ch'in period, whereas version B is written in the clerical style 隸書 popular in the Han. Furthermore, version A does not avoid the use of Liu Pang's name whereas version B avoids using "Pang"; in neither copy is Emperor Wen's name, "Hêng", taboo, indicating that version A must have been written before Liu Pang's enthronement and version B written after Liu Pang (206 B.C.) but before Emperor Wen (180 B.C.)[84] All of these silk manuscripts were unearthed in Han Tomb No. 3, which has been ascertained to be that of the son of Marquis Li Ts'ang 利倉, of the first generation, who was buried in the twelfth year of Emperor Wen (i.e. 168 B.C.).[85] This reveals that Taoist and Legalist writings were very popular and highly valued from late Ch'in through to Emperor Wen's time. It further indicates that the Shih Chi and Han Shu have been very faithful in recording and

commenting on the historical events of ancient China, especially regarding this period.

The nature and content of these rediscovered manuscripts reveals much about the relations between Legalism and Taoism in that period. The content of the Lao Tzu Tao Te Ching of these two copies is the same as that of the traditional copy that has been handed down to the present, but the arrangement of the chapters and some of the words are different. Neither version A nor version B of the excavated Lao Tzu has chapter divisions and both place the Te Ching first and the Tao Ching second whereas the traditional copy has the Tao Ching first. The Tao Ching deals primarily with the philosophical aspects of Tao—cosmology and ontology—while the Te Ching deals for the most part with the way of life, and the practical and political aspect of Tao. The Te Ching was placed first in late Ch'in and early Han times because the political conditions of the period cried out for methods or techniques that could alleviate the ills that plagued them and consolidate the country's base. Thus, the practical and political teachings of the Te Ching were of greater importance than the less worldly Tao Ching. Therefore, the policy and aim of the early Han government, in theory, was the wu wei of the teachings of Huang-ti and Lao Tzu, whereas in the government structure and political system, since they followed the Ch'in, the Legalist approach was adopted. After a few decades had passed, the wu wei approach was discovered to be the most expedient.

The Ching-fa and Shih-liu-ching are two very important works on the use of Legalist techniques to achieve Taoist ends, and clarify the link and affinity between Taoism and Legalism. The first chapter of the Ching-fa reveals the relationship of the two very clearly:

> Tao produces law and principles, and principles are to regulate what is right and wrong and to clarify what is bent and straight.
> Therefore, one who grasps the Tao produces (i.e. draws out from Tao) principles and dares not transgress them . . . .[86]

Tao is here interpreted as an intangible, metaphysical "thing" which determines and regulates, of its own accord, all the objects and events of the universe, of which laws and principles are only two. If principles were in accordance with Tao, even the rulers could not alter them with their personal desires, which would then be yu wei 有為, desirous action, instead of wu wei, desireless action; otherwise, the Tao would be transgressed and chaos would ensue. Consequently, the central goal of these Legalists was the derivation of proper principles from the Tao, whose criterion was the workability or expediency of the tested principles. The existing problem lay not in the Legalist system but in the rulers and administrators who did not abide by the principles, but rather, instituted restrictive laws to satisfy their own private ambitions.

The Shih-liu-ching is an important book on Huang-ti which gives an account of the manner in which he brought peace to the world, defeated Ch'ih Yu 蚩尤, the barbarian chieftain, and established an efficient government. With the exception of fragments, most of Huang-ti's work has been lost; therefore, the Shih-liu-ching is now the only direct, detailed record available on Huang-ti and his ministers. The book is believed to have been written between late Ch'in and early Han times because it discusses Huang-ti's unification of "all under heaven" under one person, and, at that time, Ch'in Shih Huang and Liu Pang succeeded in doing so—more particularly the latter, however, since Liu Pang proclaimed himself the "Son of Heaven" and became emperor of "all under heaven", a claim very similar to one made by Huang-ti in the Shih-liu-ching.[87] Because the Shih-liu-ching contains the discourses of Huang-ti and his ministers, it has

been conjectured that it is the book of Huang-ti on Kings and Ministers (ten chapters) listed in the Treatise on Literature in the Han Shu, chapter 30. The Shih-liu-ching includes elements of Taoist, as well as Legalist, thought. Its dialectical approach is very similar to that of the Lao Tzu; wu wei is an important theme also, and the prerequisite for its fulfillment is said to be the possession of correct principles, which are to be incorporated into the political system: if these principles are observed, things can be left to themselves and wu wei will function.[88] Thus the Shih-liu-ching fills the gap left by Lao Tzu, who advocated wu wei without explicitly delineating the procedure for its application. The Lao Tzu, therefore, lays out a theory of wu wei, while the Shih-liu-ching proposes a method or technique for its application, particularly during a time of unrest and confusion.

Ch'eng and Tao Yüan are two relatively short treatises expounding the evolution of the Tao from the "void" into forms. In order to perceive or to be one with reality (i.e. with Tao) one must discern the manner in which one reality is transformed into another, and see through names to the reality behind them. For example, the Ch'eng says:

> A minister of an emperor is named (or called) a minister; however, in reality, the minister is the teacher of the emperor (because he counsels and advises the emperor on what he must do) . . . . A minister of a hegemon is named a minister, but in fact, he is a guest (of the hegemon), (because a hegemon is so tyrannical that his ministers are not well-trusted and respected as ministers, and deep in their minds they themselves do not regard themselves as ministers to the hegemon and would flee at the first opportunity) . . . .[89]

Again, the theme of the two treatises is a technique for governing which assigns the ten thousand things to their appropriate roles and thereby prevents unnecessary struggle. In this way, the above (i.e. the government),

is empty, like non-existence, and the below (i.e. the masses), is quiet and at peace.[90] In the logical structure of the treatises, Tao is placed on the more abstract upper level, encompassing all else; then, out of Tao, descending to the second, lower level of abstraction, "principle" evolves. It is this "principle" with which the Taoist-Legalists are primarily concerned and on which they have elaborated.

Such is the impact of Taoism on the Han government of this period; the degree of their implementation can best be considered by an examination of the reigns of Emperors Wen and Ching. When Emperor Wen succeeded to the throne, he was already renowned for his benevolence, filial piety, magnanimity and sincerity.[91] These qualities seem predominantly Confucian, but he was, in fact, more partial to Taoist thought, and he entrusted the administration to his Taoist ministers. Filial piety and sincerity, it must be remembered, are Taoist qualities as well. Emperor Wen fulfilled his roles as son, gentleman and king, and as an individual, equally well. Taoism, or the Huang-Lao thought of that time, advocated simplicity, the relaxation of cumbersome regulations, the curbing of excessive activities and the control of selfish, overweening desires. Under Taoist influence, Emperor Wen behaved, in the main, in accordance with these directives. His garments, footwear and daily utensils were plain in pattern, with few of the usual gold and silver embellishments; during his reign, no additions were made in the way of palaces, chambers, gardens, beasts of entertainment or chariots. Even the dress of his favourite concubine was not permitted to drag on the floor (which was a waste of material, a sign of extravagance, and thus unnecessary). No curtains, screens or bed-chamber nets were embroidered. In preparing for his tomb, he ordered that all that accompanied his body must be made of clay, and no gold, silver, bronze, or tin was to be used for decoration; the tomb site was to be on a hill

instead of flat land, so that it would be less expensive and fewer workman would have to be recruited to build it.[92] This was revolutionary indeed in those times, compared with the extravagant, monumental burials of the kings and nobles. In this manner, he set an example for "all under heaven" to be frugal, simple and to reduce excessive activity.

Emperor Wen's reign was a beneficent one: he was the first emperor to establish a rudimentary old age pension, proclaiming, in an edict issued in the third month of the first year of his reign:

> Now that it is harmonious spring-time when plants and trees and the various living things all have means to enjoy themselves, yet among my subjects there are widowers, widows, orphans, and childless, poor and distressed individuals, some at the point of death, but no one addresses their suffering . . . . The old will not be warm without (plain) silk, and will not be well-nourished without meat . . . . How can this befit the intention of caring for the aged? . . . [93]

Thus, action was taken to ensure that those over the age of eighty were each granted one picul of rice, twenty catties of meat and five tou[94] of wine per month. Those who were over ninety were further granted two bolts of silk and three catties of silk wadding each.[95] By such acts of benevolence, Emperor Wen sought to free the people to pursue their own interests and personal development; a better social and economic environment would result from these Taoist means, and facilitate the fulfillment of Taoist goals.

Thus, in the spring of his second year, Emperor Wen personally took the lead in plowing the fields, in order to promote agriculture. Those who had been compelled to do public works as punishment, or who had borrowed seeds and food without returning them, were all pardoned unconditionally.[96] Later in the year, the land tax on the cultivated fields was halved for everyone.[97] Pitying the hard working peasants, Emperor Wen repeated this

measure in the twelfth year of his reign.[98] Considering it important that the family unit, the village peasants, the elders of each district, and the local officials live comfortably, he issued edicts in the same year granting additional (plain) silk bolts to the filially pious, the fraternally respectful, the diligent cultivators of the fields, the elders (San-lao 三老), and the honest local officials. A court representative was dispatched to examine each locality for discontent, and at the same time to establish a regular number of San-lao (elders), Filially Pious, Fraternally Respectful, and Diligent Cultivators of the Fields, in accordance with the number and size of households[99]. This practice soon became a method for recruiting officials, and would be followed and expanded upon by Emperor Wu, his grandson. In the spring of the thirteenth year of his reign, Emperor Wen again took the lead in cultivating the fields, and even his queen cultivated mulberry trees and silkworms to set an example and to encourage others. In the fifth month of the same year, he abolished corporal punishment, and, the following month, the tax on produce levied on the cultivated fields as well. At the same time, all orphans within the empire were granted a certain amount of linen cloth, silk (plain), and silk wadding.[100]

During Emperor Wen's reign, the Hsiung-nu were even more active than previously, and attacked the border area several times--once in the fifth month of his third year of reign, once in the winter of his fourteenth year of reign, and a third time in the winter of his twenty-second year of reign. Emperor Wen's response was to merely send troops to reinforce the border areas, without dispatching expeditions to pursue the Hsiung-nu to distant lands, realizing that all-out war would be too heavy a burden for the country to bear, and that a conciliatory policy was a wiser alter-

native.[101]

Thus, it is evident that Emperor Wen applied Lao Tzu's teachings well, both in his private life and in his role as sovereign. Arthur Waley translates the title of the Tao Te Ching as The Way and Its Power; Emperor Wen did indeed use his power of Te to direct the empire on its proper course, for the sake of the well-being of the people and the prosperity of the country. During his reign, he granted unconditional amnesty four times—the first when he ascended the throne, the second in the fourth month of his seventh year of reign, the third in the spring of his fifteenth year of reign, and the last time in the fifth month of the twentieth year of his reign. In addition, he abolished severe laws and punishments, and granted minor amnesties. He released the beauties of the imperial living quarters (maidens of various ranks below that of Lady, who had been recruited for chamber service by the imperial court) so that they could return home to marry.[102] He also freed the male and female slaves of the government, who thereby achieved free status.[103]

When the country was disrupted by a great drought and a plague of locusts in 157 B.C., he ordered that the nobles need not attend court to pay tribute. He permitted the common people to extract the natural resources of the mountains and lakes in order to stimulate national recovery. He reduced the number of royal garments and chariots, as well as the number of guards and minor officials, and fed the hungry from the government granaries. The needy could now sell their noble ranks,[104] an innovation welcomed by the merchants, who had been barred from office since Liu Pang's enthronement. Had the government not prepared for want in the years of its prosperity, and had the Emperor been unwilling to restrict imperial expenditures, the ensuing suffering would have been dire indeed.

The non-violent pacification of Nan-yüeh (southern China) was a further demonstration of Emperor Wen's power of virtue. During Empress Lü's time (187-170 B.C.), Chao T'o 趙佗 enfeoffed as King of Nan-yüeh by Liu Pang, rebelled against the central authority, attacked Changsha, and declared himself emperor, establishing institutions and an imperial style identical to those of the Han Court. When Emperor Wen came to the throne, desirous of pacifying Chao T'o without warfare, he summoned Chao T'o's older and younger cousins and honoured them with respectable positions and generous gifts, and made yearly offerings at the tomb of Chao T'o's parents in Chên Ting 真定, his native home in the former State of Chao. He then dispatched Lu Chia 陸賈 and another imperial representative to Chao T'o, bearing an imperial letter analysing the futility of Chao's becoming emperor and the inhumanity of precipitating war. Chao T'o was moved by the letter, so much so that he immediately abandoned all claim to imperial status and responded with a humble letter to Emperor Wen, to whom he expressed his submission as a permanent subject.[105]

Other incidents reveal Emperor Wen's handling of affairs with virtue rather than authority or imposition. Once, the King of Wu, Liu P'i 吳王劉濞, feigned illness to avoid attending court. Emperor Wen responded by granting him a stool and a cane, an honour conferred on aged officials; this implied that the emperor was willing to forgive him his absence on the grounds of old age.[106] Officials and ministers such as Yuan Ang, who remonstrated the emperor with sharp, outspoken words, were often heeded and forgiven by Emperor Wen. When it was discovered that Chang Wu and several others were accepting bribes of gold or cash, he drew from his private coffers and bestowed upon them even greater sums in order to shame them,[107] instead of punishing them in strict accordance with the law. Thus

Emperor Wen applied his virtue to the moral and spiritual betterment of his people, avoiding the employment of military action or the enforcement of law as far as possible, unless compelled to do so by critical circumstances. Once, Emperor Wen wished to construct an open-air terrace, and summoned artisans to calculate the cost. When he discovered that the cost might exceed a hundred catties of gold, he abandoned the project, with the remark that a hundred catties of gold was equivalent to the wealth of ten families of moderate means, adding that such a terrace was not, at all events, indispensable.[108]

In the twenty-third year of his reign, Emperor Wen passed away in the Wei-yang Palace, on July 6, 157 B.C. On his deathbed, he issued his last decree, which reads:

> I have heard that among all the ten thousand things that sprout or are born, there is none which does not die. Death is the principle of Heaven and Earth, and the natural course of things. How then can it be so lamentable? Yet in the world of today all esteem life and loathe death, elaborate on lavish burials to the degree of exhausting their wealth, and observe heavy mourning to the extent of damaging their health. I very much disapprove of such practices. . . .
>
> For over twenty years I have had the opportunity to protect the ancestral temples of the dynasty . . . peace and contentment have been brought to the four quarters of the world and there has been no warfare . . . .Now I am indeed fortunate enough to live out the years assigned by Heaven and also be allowed to serve offerings in the ancestral temple of Emperor Kao-tsu (Liu Pang). For one so unenlightened as I, isn't this something to rejoice about? Why should there be any sadness or sorrow? Let it be instructed that when this order reaches them, the officials and people of the empire shall take part in lamentation for three days and then all shall remove their mourning gowns. There shall be no prohibition of taking a wife or marrying off a daughter, of offering sacrifices in ancestral temples, or of partaking of wine and meat.[109] There shall be no display of chariots and weapons and no people shall be sent to wail and lament at the palace . . . . All of this shall be announced to the world so that (the people) may understand my will clearly. Let the hills and streams around (my tomb at)

> Pa-ling, 霸陵, be left in their natural state without any alteration. The ladies of the palace[110] from the concubine's rank down to the rank of Junior Maid shall be sent back to their homes.[111]

Considering the times, as well as the usual practices of other emperors, kings and nobles, Emperor Wen's policies and decrees were highly enlightened. His outlook on death and on the natural course of events was clearly Taoist: he abided by the Taoist principle of non-disturbance by simplifying cumbersome ceremonies and reducing mourning periods; in fact, he pointed out that he was fortunate to have lived the years he did, and, therefore, his death should not be an occasion of sorrow (in a spirit much like that of Chuang Tzu). Even at his death, he remained concerned with the welfare of his people, unlike most of the rulers who preceded and followed him, who were concerned merely with their own bodies, and their own continuation after death. Thus, he can justly be described as an enlightened and benevolent ruler. Li Chih 李贄, a critical scholar of the Ming Dynasty, commented on Emperor Wen:

> Most of the decrees in the past ages were more for literary decoration. Only Hsiao Wen's (Emperor Wen) decree, every word of it, flowed from his heart (his lungs and intestines). Hsiao Wen knew very deeply the way of taking one step back, and naturally, in so doing, his heels and steps were very solid and stable. Thus his decrees were not empty words. Those scholars who do not understand the real meaning of Huang-ti and Lao Tzu and call him (Emperor Wen) a deviant of Yang-chu who could have led the country into disaster (by practicing the distorted version of Yang-chu's Taoism), alas! Please examine more carefully and do not just pick up the residue of other people (in misunderstanding the underlying Taoist way of Emperor Wen).[112]

Ssu-ma Ch'ien also praises Emperor Wen highly. He says:

> Confucius said that when a dynasty is founded, "a generation must pass before there can be truly benevolent government," and that "if good men rule the state, they may in the course of a hundred years succeed in wiping out violence and do away with capital punishment."

> How true are his words! (i.e. in application to Emperor Wen).
>
> Emperor Wen reigned some forty years after the founding of the Han, and his virtue was of the highest order. The time had drawn near when he might appropriately have changed the beginning of the year (of reign or a new era), altered the court vestments, and performed the Feng and Shan 封禪 sacrifices. But the emperor modestly declined his reign to take such steps. Ah, was he not benevolent indeed?[113]

The Case of Emperor Ching

Two brief accounts of Emperor Ching in the Shih Chi and the Han Shu provide outlines of the administration and changes in the personnel of the government, which will suffice for our present purposes. The social and economic conditions of the time are not fully discussed here, nor is the Rebellion of the Seven Kingdoms or the execution of Ch'ao Ts'o. For a more detailed study, other sections of the Shih Chi and Han Shu, such as Memoirs of the Important Personages, must be consulted.

Six days after Emperor Wen's passing, his son succeeded to the throne, two days later inheriting the title of Emperor Ching. His mother was Empress née Tou, a fervent follower of Huang-Lao. Emperor Ching, however, was not much of a Taoist: he had little experience of life's fluctuations due to his sheltered palace upbringing. In fact, unlike his father, Emperor Wen, he was of rather weak character and brooked little criticism or opposition of any sort, and disposed of those who attempted to do so. His Taoist-Legalist minister, Ch'ao Ts'o, was executed with his silent consent, and only regretted some time later. Chou Ya-fu, the Grand Military Commandant faithful to the dynasty, who was maltreated and unjustly persecuted, resigned and starved himself to death in protest. Tou Ying, a capable minister, was barred from high office after his objection to the emperor's replacement of the heir-apparent.

Despite these weaknesses, however, Emperor Ching was, on the whole, a good ruler. He had deep concern for his people and for the country: during his sixteen year reign, from 157 to 141 B.C., peace was maintained throughout the empire, the Rebellion of the Seven Kingdoms only lasting a few months, without causing much lasting damage to the country as a whole. His petty, selfish indulgences caused disturbances at court and in the administration; however, he was capable enough to follow Emperor's Wen's guiding policy of interfering as little as possible with the livelihood of the people, by relaxing laws, punishments and taxes, encouraging agriculture and trade, and consolidating the central government of the country, all Taoist-inspired policies.

During his reign, Emperor Ching granted unconditional amnesty six times, twice more than his father.[114] Indeed, had his reign not been peaceful, such wholesale pardoning would surely have endangered the well-being and order of society. In his concern for the masses, Emperor Ching issued an edict, which reads:

> . . . for some years there have not been good harvests. Most of the people are short of food and early death is reducing their natural life spans. I feel much pain about this . . . . Those people who wish to migrate to broader and larger regions (for a better livelihood) are permitted to do so.[115]

A few months after this decree was issued, he reduced the land tax on cultivated fields to one-half its usual amount.[116] On the several occasions on which the Hsiung-nu moved to invade the country, he maintained a conciliatory policy, by the friendly gesture of marrying off Han princesses to their chieftain, Shan Yu.[117] In the spring of the seventh year of his reign, in 150 B.C., he freed the convict labourers and slaves who had been summoned to construct Yang-ling, his future tomb.[118] In the eighth year of his reign,

the law which held offending officials in custody and prohibited them from resuming office was also abolished.[119] In the ninth year of his reign, he ordered that, when a noble died, not more than three hundred commoners were to be recruited to attend to the burial and to construct the tomb;[120] this decree effectively disallowed marquises from having extravagant burials, and from burdening the masses with additional labour. In the spring of 147 B.C., two of the Hsiung-nu chieftains came, with their followers, to submit themselves to the Han. In order to tempt even more Hsiung-nu tribes to follow suit, Emperor Ching bestowed the noble rank of marquis on the two chieftains.[121]

In years of insufficient harvest, the horses of the capital could not be fed with grain, which was to be yielded to the district officials. All were forbidden to eat food supplies exceeding the amount allocated for a year, and, finally, the number of marquises in the capital was reduced and the remainder asked to return to their enfeoffed estates.[122] In the autumn of 146 B.C., amnesty was granted to the second group of convicts constructing the Yang-ling, his future tomb. Those who had been sentenced to capital punishment and preferred castration to execution were accommodated.[123]

During the final years of his rule, Emperor Ching grew even more benevolent and manifested a great deal of concern for the populace. His edicts were centred on the enforcement of justice, the regulation of the officials' conduct, and devoted attention to agriculture and the well-being of the subjects. One edict reads:

> ". . .When agriculture is harmed then it is the source of hunger. When woman's work (i.e. weaving) is hurt then it is the origin of suffering from cold. When both hunger and cold come at the same time, those who can refrain from committing misdeeds will be few . . . .

> I have reduced corvée labour and poll-taxes wishing that people within the empire will work hard on agriculture and sericulture. Always, there should be stores and provisions in preparation for calamities or disasters. The strong should not rob from the weak; the greater in number should not do violence to the few; the aged and those over sixty should die a natural death; and the young and orphans should be allowed to reach maturity. This year the harvest was not so good and the food for the people was rather scanty; where should the blame be placed? Perhaps the officials are being dishonest and hypocritically making a business of goods and bribes, taking by fraud and snatching the property of the common people. . . ."[124]

Another edict reads:

> "In recent years there have not been good harvests. I think it is because those who attend to the branches are many(too much commerce is unproductive of food) and those who engage in agriculture are few. Let it be ordered that the commanderies and kingdoms shall encourage agriculture and sericulture . . . so that food and clothing will be available. Those officials who send the common people or take substitute money to employ others to collect (or pluck) gold, pearls and jade, shall be condemned as having taken booty and be treated as robbers. . . ."[125]

In March of 141 B.C., Emperor Ching died in the Wei-yang Palace. On his death-bed, he granted to the kings and marquises two teams of four horses each, to high officials two catties of gold, and to lower officials and the common people (by household) a hundred copper cash each. The ladies of the harem were freed to return home and granted life-time exemptions from taxation.[126]

In the early years of his reign Emperor Ching had been inexperienced and in thrall to his self-seeking whims; this led to the revolt of the seven kings and the death of the capable official Ch'ao Ts'o. It was not until the second half of his reign that he devoted his energies and attention to administration and the well-being of his subjects. His success as a good emperor lay, first, in his ability to continue his father's good works, and second, in keeping with the overall policy of

Huang-Lao thought, in his pacification of the Hsiung-nu, and his supervision of his officials' duties. By the end of the reigns of Emperors Wen and Ching, the country had not only completely recovered from the wounds left by the Warring States, the Ch'in and the early Han periods, but had also built up a strong central government with a highly efficient bureaucratic system from which later dynasties would take their models, tailoring them to their own requirements and capabilities.

Ssu-ma Ch'ien regarded Emperor Wen more highly than he did Emperor Ching; however, Pan Ku attempted to redeem Emperor Ching by equating him with King K'ang of the early Chou dynasty. In eulogy, Pan Ku, like his predecessor Ssu-ma Ch'ien, began with a saying from Confucius:

> Confucius praised, "These people! They are that whereby the three dynasties (Hsia, Shang, Chou) pursued their straight course."[127] How true it is! The shortcoming of the Chou and Ch'in was that the net of their laws was dense and their enactments severe; however, they could not overcome the ways of the wicked. When the Han arose, it swept away such vexations and harshness and gave the people repose and rest. When it came to Emperor Hsiao-wen, he applied on top of it the quality of respectfulness and frugality. Emperor Hsiao-ching followed his (father's) career. In the duration of fifty to sixty years, (the Han government) reached the point of altering the people's customs and changing their practices. The many common people had become pure and sincere. As the Chou dynasty spoke of Kings Ch'eng and K'ang, the Han talked of Emperors Wen and Ching. How splendid![128]

The Case of Empress Tou

Although Emperor Ching was generally considered a good emperor, he was not much of a Taoist in comparison to Emperor Wen. The reason historians do, however, classify him with Emperor Wen as part of the Taoist Huang-Lao period of the early Han, can be found by examining the historical events more closely. As mentioned earlier, Emperor Wen's queen, Empress

née Tou, the mother of Emperor Ching who originated from the Taoist state of Ch'i, was a fervent Huang-Lao Taoist. She outlived even Emperor Ching and was influential at court during the sixteen years of her son's reign, as the Empress Dowager. Thus, under her suasion, Emperor Ching did acquire some benevolent Taoist qualities, albeit superficially. These were reflected in his concern for the people, his relaxation of laws and punishments, and his improvement of the administration.

Two incidents suffice in demonstrating Empress Tou's influence and power in the Han Court—one occurred in Emperor Ching's reign, the other in that of Emperor Wu. Both Taoist and Confucianist ministers were present at court at that time, between whom Emperor Ching did not discriminate so long as they fulfilled their duties. On one occasion, Master Yuan Ku, a Confucian Erudite, and Master Huang, a Taoist minister, held a debate before the Emperor over the propriety of the accessions of King Tang of Shang and King Wu of Chou. Both parties presented valid arguments in support of their positions, and no conclusion could be reached. Emperor Ching resolved the dilemma by pointing out that it would not be considered unwise of the scholars if they did not discuss the receipt of the Mandate of Heaven by Kings Tang and Wu. The matter was thereupon dismissed.[129] However, Empress Tou, who was fond of the Lao Tzu, later summoned Master Yuan and questioned him about that text. Yuan remarked that the book merely contained the common sayings of some ordinary families, upon which Empress Tou was so outraged that she condemned Yuan to fight a wild boar. Emperor Ching, who had witnessed the episode, felt that Yuan had not erred in speaking his mind; however, as he was not in a position to oppose his mother, he assisted Yuan by providing him a sharp weapon to defend himself.[130]

The second incident concerns Emperor Wu's two most highly favoured ministers—Chao Wan and Wang Chuang, 趙綰，王臧，who were both Confucianists: aware of Empress Tou's aversion to Confucianism, they advised Emperor Wu not to report court affairs to Empress Tou, who had, by then, become "Great Grand Empress". On discovering their machinations, she took offence and persecuted them both as far as she was able. The prime minister, Tou Ying, son of her elder brother, and the Grand Commandant, Tien Fen, uncle of Emperor Wu, both of whom had recommended Chao and Wang to the court, were both dismissed from office.[131] Only when Empress Tou died was Emperor Wu able to reappoint Tien Fen as prime minister, and to favour the Confucian officials in his administration. With Empress Tou's death, Taoist influence in court administration declined and Taoists were compelled to take up other pursuits, such as Yin-Yang studies, divination and the search for immortality.

CHAPTER III

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE HUANG-LAO TEXTS EXCAVATED FROM THE MA-WANG-TUI HAN TOMB

Towards the end of 1973, yet another major archaeological site was excavated by Chinese archaeologists: the Ma-wang-tui Han tomb number three in Ch'ang-sha, Hunan Province. Among the numerous valuable finds are four lost texts attached to version B of the Lao Tzu, which have a direct bearing on the present discussion. These are: the Ching-fa 經法, (Constant Principle), the Shih-liu-ching 十六經 (The Sixteen Classics), the Ch'eng 稱 (Balancing) and the Tao Yüan 道原 (Tao—The Origin). For convenience, the Wen Wu Publishing Company at Peking published the four texts together under the collective title of Ching-fa, the Silk Manuscripts of the Ma-wang-tui Han Tomb. The Shih-liu-ching concerns itself primarily with Huang-ti's technique of government, while the other three texts concentrate on the Tao and on methods for its incorporation into statecraft. All four texts consistently introduce a trend of political thought absent in the Ch'in period; these innovative theories were studied and put to practical use by the leading statesmen and nobles of the early Han. It is not too far-fetched to say that "Huang-Lao" did represent a new school of thought which had a far-ranging and long-lasting impact on government.

The nature of Huang-Lao thought must next be examined in light of these texts in order to discover its relevance to the political and social conditions of the early Han. Both the Shih Chi and the Han Shu discuss the Taoist Huang-Lao government of the early Han, particularly during the time of Prime Minister Ts'ao Shen and the reigns of Emperors Wen and Ching. And, although the Huang-Lao school of thought was very popular in the early Han, more so than in the pre-Ch'in period when Legalist thought was pre-

dominant, and the Legalist writings that survive from pre-Ch'in times are relatively many — those of Han Fei remain, together with fragments from Shen Pu-hai, Li Ssu, and a number of others—no works of the Huang-Lao school have survived, except for the Lao Tzu and the scattered references to the supposed Huang-ti texts mentioned in the Shih Chi and the Han Shu. Until now, the influence of Huang-Lao on the early Han could only be traced through the policies and practices of the government and through the biographies of its chief ministers and rulers. Other than the broad principle of wu wei or avoidance of inappropriate action, the particular guidelines and ideology of the government were nowhere mentioned. The Ma-wang-tui texts, which have been determined to date precisely from the period we are concerned with (the burial took place in the twelfth year of Emperor Wen's reign—168 B.C.), now furnish the most valuable means of unveiling the nature of Huang-Lao thought and its relation to early Han ideology and practice. Parts of these texts will, therefore, be examined, to show the direct correlation between Taoist goals and Legalist techniques, as well as to elucidate how the Han government bridged the seemingly contradictory Legalist and Huang-Lao Taoist thought.

Interestingly, the content of these texts is not merely both Legalist and Taoist, but something beyond as well. They provide a grand scheme for the proper ordering and governing of a country in periods of chaos or instability, by following "Heaven's" way, which includes the correct application of the principle of natural order (e.g. Yin Yang). As a result, a Legalist system evolved for the efficient implementation of sound government, the primary goals of which, however, were Taoist.

With the discovery of the silk manuscripts at Ma-wang-tui, the nature and signification of the Huang-Lao school of thought was finally revealed.

The Huang-Lao school was one of the most influential in the period dating from the Warring States period to the early part of the Former Han. Many thinkers and statesmen either belonged to or were associated with this school, particularly those who were with the Academy of Chih Hsia in the state of Ch'i (齊之稷下學派), e.g. Shen-tao 愼到, T'ien-p'ien 田駢, and Huan-yuan 環淵. When the powerful state of Ch'in 秦 adopted Legalism as its guiding principle, Huang-Lao thought subsided and did not resurface until the early Han, although in pre-Ch'in times, many schools had been in one way or another linked with the teachings or sayings of Huang-ti or Lao Tzu. Many examples can be found in the chapter on Literary Art in the Han Shu: in the Novelist school there were forty chapters of "The Sayings of Huang'ti"; in the Military school were sixteen chapters on "Huang-ti"; in the Yin-Yang school, there were the "Huang-ti Yin-Yang" and "Huang-ti and the various masters having discourse on Yin-Yang", each in twenty-five volumes. In addition to these were the more direct writings of the Huang-ti school: the "Four Classics of Huang-ti" 黃帝四經, "Inscribed Sayings of Huang-ti" 黃帝銘, and "Huang-ti, Lord and Minister" 黃帝君臣.[1] The Chapter of Literary Art 漢書藝文志 also classified many writings of the various masters under the Taoist school, and the same can be said of the Shih Chi[2], such as Yü Tzu 鬻子, Kuan Tzu 管子, Wen Tzu 文子, Kwan Yin Tzu 關尹子, Lieh Tzu 列子, and Chieh Kuan Tzu 鶡冠子.

As mentioned earlier, all of the writings concerning Huang-ti had been lost, other than brief fragments scattered throughout the works of other thinkers, perhaps as a result of the "Burning of the Books" by the Ch'in and the adoption of Confucianism as the state ideology after Han Wu-ti. The Huang-Lao texts included among the unearthed silk manuscripts validate these

fragmentary records in the Han Shu and Shih Chi. The "Four Classics of Huang-ti" are apparently the Four Classics of Huang-ti 黃帝四經 mentioned in the Literary Art chapter of the Han Shu. Both the style of writing and trend of thought in these four chapters are highly similar to those of the Lao Tzu. But, while the Lao Tzu restricts its discussion to the Tao and Te 道與德, its power, the Huang-ti texts discuss not merely the Tao, but also the techniques or methods of rule of the Legalist stream. In addition, the concept of Tao and the philosophy of the techniques of government have been extended to include those of "forms and names" 刑名. The Lao Tzu only provides a general principle of government inasmuch as it is purely deducible from the Tao (人法地,地法天,天法道,道法自然);[3] the Huang-ti texts, on the other hand, provide the specific instructions, lacking in the Lao Tzu, on the manner in which government must act in order to bring about a Taoist state of affairs. It is not surprising that these texts were discovered in the tombs of the Taoist nobility of the early Han; more Huang-Lao texts will undoubtedby be unearthed from the tombs of Emperors Wen and Ching, and those of their high ministers and members of the royal house, such as Empress Tou.

The unearthed Huang-ti texts yield a better understanding of Huang-Lao than ever before; in them, both Taoist and Legalist elements are present, and the gap between the extremes of the two schools is bridged. The origin of Huang-ti's association with Legalism can be traced as far back in antiquity as the reigns of Shen-nung and Huang-ti. The Shen-nung period was a peaceful one, in which men ploughed the fields and women wove. Neither punishments nor government was required 刑政不用而治 in this primordial state of affairs that served as a prototype of the state advocated by Lao Tzu and other Taoists, a fact of which Huang-ti was certainly aware.

As legend goes, however, after Shen-nung, human affairs degenerated: the strong bullied the weak; the majority oppressed the minority, and barbarian invasion further aggravated the decline. In order to reverse this trend, the Yellow Emperor (Huang-ti) had to intervene to restore order, an order which had to be based on the way of heaven, wherein lies an important clue to the link between quietistic Taoism and an intervening Legalism. In the texts, the discourses between Huang-ti and his ministers reveal that Huang-ti was continually reminded to avoid deviating from the way of nature, to handle affairs according to the seasons and to abide by the yin.[4] Huang-ti then instituted principles of domestic government that would chasten the unruly subjects; externally, he employed the military to subdue invaders. Thereby, Huang-ti was regarded as the first to institute organized government with the intention of restoring order. Subsequent dynasties, however, were unable to maintain the order he established, which declined by stages as described in the Huai-nan-tzu:

> In former times, under Shen-nung, there were no orders or restrictions (制令) but the people followed him; under the T'ang 唐 (Yao) and the Yü 虞 (Shun) there were order and restrictions but no punishments (刑罰), The House of the Hsia Emperors kept their word, the men of Yin swore oaths, the men of Chou made covenants.[5]

Since the Warring States period was more troubled than that of the early Chou, it was appropriate for the Legalists, who followed the steps of Huang-ti in taking the necessary measures to restore order, to emerge at that time. The Legalists bore little respect for antiquity, however, and were very harsh and impersonal in implementing their schemes; by the early Han there was a desperate need for order, and, indeed, for a wholesale national rejuvenation. The Legalist scheme was once more adopted, but in a new form of leniency and concern for the welfare of the people(e.g. the benevolent governance of emperors Wen and Ching). Thus in early Han, a Legalized form of Taoism

emerged and the régime was led by a ruling class closely associated with the masters of the Huang-Lao school of thought.

Ssu-ma Ch'ien, in his Shih Chi, has already indicated the connection of Legalism and Taoism--in his chapters on biographies, he groups together Lao Tzu, Chuang Tzu, Han Fei, and Shen Pu-hai, despite their temporal distances from one another, and despite the fact that the latter two were prominent Legalists, because both Shen and Han were deeply rooted in the tradition of Huang-ti and Lao Tzu, and had developed Lao Tzu's thought into their own political schemata.[6] Moreover, "The Four Classics of Huang-ti" and the "A" and "B" versions of the Lao Tzu, further reveal that Huang-Lao thought is indeed a highly sophisticated form of political science. And, more importantly, the primary aim of Huang-Lao thought is the translation of the sublime and cryptic Taoist vision into an efficient, workable political practice for a government (e.g. 天道無為, the Way of Heaven and wu wei). Although the contents of the various chapters are different, an overall theme runs through them--namely, the injunction that all human and governmental activities must be based on Tao, the origin of all things and all phenomena. A king or ruler is unfit to rule unless he is well-versed in the workings of Tao and the principles of nature, and administers affairs accordingly. Huang-ti has, in the texts, been depicted as such a ruler, a ruler with a holistic vision that encompasses heaven, earth and man, and an understanding of the interaction of yin yang. Such a ruler is far superior to the Legalist, who lacks such a vision; Legalists merely emphasized absolute authority and strict application of the law, without demanding the self-cultivation of the ruler. The Han government aspired to provide the leadership called for by the Huang-Lao school, rather than the Legalist totalitarianism of the Ch'in. Knowing that his capabilities could never

match Huang-ti's, Emperor Wen delegated his authority to his ministers, who, it was hoped, would work together to achieve Huang-ti's level of excellence in government. The prime minister would be of the greatest assistance to the emperor, helping him to fulfill his role as ruler. The prime minister was not only required to administer the "ten thousand" affairs of the state, but he was also expected to observe the changes of yin and yang and to know the cycle of the seasons so as to direct the hundred officials in performing their own duties accordingly. In this task, Ts'ao Shen and Ch'en P'ing had, of all the prime ministers of the time, achieved the highest degree of excellence, and its concomitant renown.

Most history books on ancient China comment that the government of early Han followed the quiescent, wu wei, laissez-faire philosophy of the Taoist school; however, closer examination reveals that none of the ruling elite was inclined towards passive quietism. They did intervene, but only at appropriate moments, as frequently advocated by the idea of "timeliness" 時, in the Ching-fa texts. In fact, emperors and ministers alike adhered to this guiding tenet in their attitudes and practices in government. Many parallels between their behaviour and the principal teachings of the texts can be drawn. Prime Minister Ch'en P'ing is one illustration: while Empress Lü and her brothers were in power at court, Ch'en P'ing was compelled to remain "passive", and to submit to her wishes, but when the right moment came, he led a coup d'état, destroyed the Lü clique, and restored the House of Liu to its legitimate place. Such an act requires courage, patience, and more importantly, the proper assessment of the situation, and not merely "passivity."

It is not too far-fetched to conjecture that the Ching-fa texts were studied along with the Lao Tzu and other major texts such as the Chou I

周易, as Huang-Lao thought in early Han. In fact, other texts unearthed include works on divination, medicine, yogic exercises, astrology, astronomy, and horse physiognomy; Huang-ti, the cultural hero of antiquity, was believed to be an expert in most of these arts. The content of the Ching-fa texts provides a bridge for the gap between Legalist practices and Taoist ideals: with the discovery of these texts, the "missing link" has been found. It is to be hoped that in the near future more texts of this kind will be excavated that will reinforce initial findings. Each chapter of the Ching-fa has a different theme, but the central theme running through them is the method for bringing the Taoist realm of "supreme nature" into the administrative realm of human affairs. In their discourses on the conducting of affairs, whether governmental or military, the ministers frequently reminded Huang-ti and his grandson Kao-yang 高陽 to abide by nature, the Tao and the One, since affairs could not be divorced from the Way of Heaven. The first chapter of the Ching-fa (道法), (The Law of Tao), points out, in a manner reminiscent of the Tao Te Ching, that it is the Tao that gives birth to laws and institutions, and that when the Tao gives birth to things, things necessarily adopt forms and names. And, when forms and names, sounds and titles are established, then nothing can evade the Tao's traces nor hide from what is proper; (道生法…秋毫成之，必有刑名…刑名已立，聲号已建，則无所逃迹匿正矣).[7] It is on such a basis that laws are established to regulate deviations. Since rules and laws are made by man, how can one know that they are properly established? The same chapter provides an answer: heaven and earth have their constancy; the way to respond to changes is to stop at maintaining a balance. When the heavy and the light are not balanced, it is called losing the way. (天地有恒常…應化之道，平衡而止。重輕

不稱，是謂失道……).[8] The only way to know the workings of the Tao is to abide by the void and observe all under heaven; then one will have no attachment, no bias, no deliberate action and no selfishness. (見知之道，唯虛无有…故執道者之觀于天下也，无執也，无处也，无為也，无私也).[9] Those who rule are enjoined to command this quality, to abide by what is proper and balanced according to the way of heaven and nature, without private, selfish prejudices.

The constancy of heaven and earth, the Ching-fa continues, is the four seasons, day and night, creation and destruction, hardness and softness. The constant activities of the "ten thousand people" (the masses) are agriculture for men and weaving for women. The constant difference in position between the noble and the lowly (in terms of quality and virtue) is the difference between the capable and the unworthy. The constant way of keeping ministers (or subjects) is not to assign them tasks that are beyond their talents. (天地之恒常，四時，晦明，生杀，柔剛。万民之恒事，男農，女工。貴賤之恒位，賢不肖不相放。為臣之恒道，任能無過其所長).[10] Significantly, it was precisely in the early Han that the government first endeavoured to fulfill these prescriptions: as seen earlier, prime ministers were required to observe all major occurrences within the empire, including changes of season and temperature; agriculture was at that time encouraged, and women enjoined to engage in weaving and the textile industry; the capable and worthy were selected and recommended for office.[11] In reducing heavy and complicated matters and applying restraint on taxes and corvée labour, and by allowing the people to settle into their economic activities, the early Han government seemed to have closely followed the advice of 君正, the Lord Proper, in the Ching-fa:

Eliminate the harsh matters;
Reduce taxes and exactions,
Do not snatch away the timely activities of the people;
That is the peacefulness of governance.
([省]苛事,節賦歛,毋奪民時,治之安).[12]

Form and name (hsing-ming 刑名) is another major theme of the Ching-fa texts. The form and name of the Ching-fa, it must be emphasized, is not that of the School of Names 名家, which did not link their hsing-ming to Tao or to their ontological basis. The hsing-ming of the Ching-fa, on the other hand, are always associated with Heaven, whose way the ruler is advised not to transgress, and, in fact, hsing-ming is here an important bridge between heaven, earth and man. The chapter of The Four Measures 四度 says:

君臣當位謂之靜,賢不肖當位謂之正,
動靜參於天地謂之文,誅口時当胃(謂)之武.
Lord and subjects, each assuming their proper position, is called tranquility. The virtuous and the unworthy, each assuming their corresponding position, is called properness. To be in activity or in quietude, in accordance with heaven and earth, is called civil culture. To execute (and punish) at appropriate times and circumstances is called august martial.13

That is, all things under heaven have their allotted roles and activities, or, in other words, if one acts according to the way of the natural, proper order, chaos can be rectified. Ch'en P'ing's coup against the Lü clique, and Emperor Ching's suppression of the Rebellion of the Seven Kingdoms, are, in these terms, considered to be correct and proper. The tranquility 靜 that follows when lords and subjects assume their proper roles 君臣當位 entails a peaceful empire where people can engage in their normal activities, because no one then usurps the position of another, from which results disquiet and disturbances. But when these disturbances do occur, because people do not abide by their proper roles, then punishment and execution are both proper and necessary, to restore the civil culture of heaven and earth. Therefore, after the peaceful rule of Shen-nung, when disorder occurred,

Huang-ti had to take the necessary measures to restore order.

In the chapter on Lun 論, (Discourses), the inter-relationship of heaven, earth and man is once more elaborated upon. In addition, the chapter introduces the "kingly way" (帝王之道), which requires a good command of the seven laws (七法) and the six handles (六柄, key methods).

> The one who is the master of men is the □ of heaven and earth, and it is from him that signals and mandates are issued . . . . If he does not take heaven as heaven (model) then he loses his spirit. If he does not respect and value earth then he loses his roots. If the proper measures of the four seasons are not followed then people will suffer illness . . . . Heaven establishes the eight propers so as to implement the seven laws. To show clearly what is proper is the way of heaven. That which is fitting is the yardstick of heaven. That which is faithful is the punctuality of heaven. That which goes to the extreme and returns is the nature of heaven . . . . The Six Handles: the first one is called to observe, the second to discuss, the third to take action, the fourth is to turn, the fifth is to change, the sixth is to transform.... *when the six handles are ready, then he can be king (a ruler).*
> 人主者,天地之口也,号令之所出也....
> 不天天则失其神,不重地则失其根.
> 不顺四時之度而民疾....
> 天建八正以行七法.明以正者,天之道也.
> 适者,天度也.信者,天之期也,極而返者,天之性也.
> 六柄(柄):一曰観,二曰論,三曰僮(动),
> 四曰轉,五曰変,六曰化.... 六柄備則王矣.[14]

It is an exposition of political theory and military strategy based not on the subjective view of man or a ruler but on the objective principle of the law of nature (道法). Thereby, law, method and Tao are linked together.

Contention Among Clans, 姓爭, an equally significant chapter of the same work, seems particularly suited to the problems of the Warring States period, and likewise to any other period in which wars prevail among states, clans, or rebellious subjects. It provides a clear guideline of when and how to conduct military action, and, once again, the fundamental principle is conformity with heaven. What is most striking in its advice is that,

contrary to the non-contention 不爭 of the Lao Tzu, it recognizes the fact that under certain circumstances, there is no achievement without contention or struggle 不爭亦無以成功. Also striking is the claim of the Ching-fa that if one does not take action at the right moment, one must suffer the ensuing disorder instead, 當斷不斷,反受其亂[15] Again, this form of struggle and action-taking is not motivated by desire or ambition but rather by the necessity of the circumstances. That is also the way of heaven in the realm of human activities: man must understand the intricacy of nature's workings among man, and must not be passive.

It is important to note that the form the early Han government took might well have been inspired by the guidelines of the Ching-fa texts. The chapter Discussions on Essence 論約, concludes:

> To be able to establish the Son of Heaven, place the Three Consultants, and all under heaven are transformed (by their teaching), is called having the Tao.
> 故能立天子,置三公,而天下化之,之胃(謂)有道.[16]

Instead of following the Ch'in government in having two prime ministers, one of the Right and one of the Left, the early Han system adopted the Three Consultants and the Nine Chief Ministers (三公、九卿). On the village level were the San-lao, 三老, the Three Elders who were to educate and improve the common people. The Son of Heaven could not perform his duties in serving the way of heaven alone, and was compelled to delegate his work to his various functionaries at different levels, in order to achieve his goal of pacifying and transforming "all under heaven."

Prime minister Ts'ao Shen applied the principles delineated in the Huang-Lao texts very fittingly. In the chapter Established Laws 成法, Huang-ti sought the advice of Li Mu, 力牧, in attempting to formulate laws for rectifying the people, some of whom slyly made use of wit and argumentation to create disorder.[17] After assuming his position as prime

minister, Ts'ao Shen did exactly that, ridding himself of those officials who were cunning and self-seeking and replaced them with those who were straightforward and trustworthy.

As illustrated by the passages quoted, Huang-Lao thought, as presented by the Ching-fa texts, is much more thorough and comprehensive than all previously known Taoist and Legalist works in bringing the Way of Heaven down to the human realm, and does provide a workable political schemata as well, as validated by the government of the early Han. The Huang-ti texts discuss the way of government, but the underlying implication is still predominantly the Taoist ideal of minimal intervention; any action must still be in keeping with the principle of wu wei: one must do no more and no less than what is necessary. Of prime importance is the maintenance of balance (稱) and the restoration of the order of heaven.[18] As distinguished from Legalist political thought, Huang-Lao thought advises neither domination, nor political persuasion, nor military coercion. Rather, it gives a reasoned, logical analysis of the interaction of heaven, earth and man, and warns against the disastrous outcome if man attempts to oppose or circumvent the laws of nature. The ruler's responsibility is to bring about harmony among all; if he fails to do so, he is not fit to rule. It is evident, therefore, that Huang-Lao thought should be granted its rightful place in Chinese thought, rather than be classified under either Taoist or Legalist thought. As pointed out by Professor Wei-ming Tu, the political climate of the early Han was deliberately passive, and the creative application of Taoist insights to the operation of institutions inherited from the Legalist bureaucracy of the Ch'in was a remarkable accomplishment of the founding fathers of the Former Han.[19] Indeed, the Former Han, down to Wu-ti's time,

is a good example of Huang-Lao thought in practice, for the dynamic policies and practices of that period exhibited, in fact, the very opposite of passivity.

CHAPTER IV

THE PLACE OF HSING-MING IN THE HUANG-LAO SCHOOL OF THOUGHT

The silk manuscripts from Ma-wang-tui not only reveal the predominant Han thought of the time, but also shed much light on the relationship between Taoism and Legalism. In the Warring States period, the Taoist and Legalist schools were diametrically opposed to each other in their political thought. However, in Huang-Lao Taoism, the two were synthesized and made to support one another. Central to this synthesis is the doctrine and concept of hsing-ming 刑名, which in the hands of the Huang-Lao thinkers had become an important link between heaven and human affairs. In fact, T'ang Lan, a modern Chinese scholar, has pointed out that the term hsing-ming originated in the Huang-Lao School.[1] While Ssu-ma Ch'ien had used the term hsing-ming very frequently in describing some of the thinkers of the pre-Ch'in period, as well as many of the ministers of the early Han, there had been no clear indication from historians or commentators of the past as to how the different thinkers at different times understood and applied the notion of hsing-ming. The word hsing 刑 has been generally interpreted as "punishment." However, in ancient China before the Former Han, when few characters had been coined for common usage, many words had been taken for their sounds, and the word hsing 刑 was one of them. Before the Former Han, hsing was also taken to mean "form" or "forms". Thus, hsing-ming 刑名 also had the meaning of "forms and names". Thinkers from the School of Names had devoted much time and energy to the study of forms and names, and of their interrelation. The Confucian school also contained a branch that studied names in order to reinforce their political and social teachings. Thus,

the Confucian cheng-ming 正名, the "rectification of names", was intended to ensure that names and forms, titles and performances, conformed to one another. In the hands of the Legalists, hsing-ming developed into a sophisticated doctrine of political science for the proper structuring of a bureaucratic government system. The Huang-Lao Taoists had a more comprehensive view. Hsing-ming included metaphysics as well as ontology, and revealed the process of creation from the Tao, the origin, to the formation of the various things, and more importantly, the proper functioning of universal order, and thus the proper governing and conducting of human affairs. Therefore, it was imperative that names befit what came into being, and names and forms should be in conformity with each other and with the natural order.

Shen Pu-hai and Han Fei-tzu were among the Legalists who had studied the teachings of Huang-Lao and concentrated on applying hsing-ming to the technique of governing: hence the elements of Taoism in their Legalist teachings. In their biographies, Ssu-ma Ch'ien points out that both Shen Pu-hai and Han Fei-tzu studied and expounded the doctrine of hsing-ming—a doctrine based on Taoist ideas.[2] But in the hands of Shen and Han, hsing-ming had already been interpreted more specifically as the requirement that "names and titles be in accord with actuality or performance." A close examination of their writings reveals their link with Taoism: for example, although Shen Pu-hai had transformed the Taoist political doctrine of wu wei (non-action, or a laissez-faire policy) into a Legalist wu wei (the art of statecraft by which the ruler is not required to act, but rather, oversees his subjects to ensure that they perform their duties according to their ranks and titles), he resorted to some Taoist means to help a ruler achieve his goals. He advised that a ruler should externally manifest his lack of

desire, and conceal his intelligence and wisdom, thus ensuring that he was unfathomable to his ministers, who would not then be able to deceive or manipulate him.[3] Thus: "discard listening and do not use it to hear; then your hearing will be keen. Discard looking and do not use it to see; then, your sight will be clear. Discard sagacity and do not use it to understand; then your knowledge will be all-embracing and your judgment impartial."[4] That is, a ruler must quiet his external visual and auditory faculties if he is to develop his inner wisdom and understand the circumstance of the external world.

However, the ruler was also required to know what was important to the state and government. Regarding a ruler's wu wei, Shen Pu-hai explains:

> The ruler is like a mirror, which merely reflects the light that comes to it, itself doing nothing, and yet because of its mere presence beauty and ugliness present themselves to view. He is like a scale, which merely establishes equilibrium, itself doing nothing, and yet the mere fact that it remains in balance causes lightness and heaviness to disclose themselves. The ruler's method is that of complete acquiescence. He merges his personal concerns with the public weal, so that as an individual he does not act. He does not act, yet as a result of his mere presence the world brings itself to a state of complete order.[5]

In the Tao Yüan, 道原, Tao: The Origin, the fourth silk manuscript, are passages outlining the way and qualities of a sagely ruler and the manner in which he pacifies and stabilizes the "ten thousand things" by increasing his acuteness and clear-sightedness, and by allocating to people their proper shares and to the "ten thousand things" their proper names:

> Therefore, only the sage is able to discern the formless,
> and is able to listen to the soundless.
> When the solidity of vacuity is known,
> Then the great vacuity is possible (can be attained) . . . .
> The clear-sighted ones are definitely able to observe
> the ultimate, and know what men are unable to know . . . .
> When a sagely king employs these means, all under heaven
> will submit . . . .

When the superior is trustworthy and does not stir affairs,
Then the ten thousand things are all encompassed.
Divide according to their proper shares and the ten thousand people will not contend.
Designate according to their proper names and the ten thousand things will settle themselves. . . .

故唯聖人能察无刑(形),能聽无[聲]
知虛之实,后能大虛.....
明者固能察极,知人之所不能知....
聖王用此,天下服.....
上信无事,則万物周扁(遍),分之以其分,
而万民不爭。投之以其名,而万物自定.[6]

If things are accorded their proper names, they will become settled; the question, however, is how their names are chosen, and how their names come about at all. The Lao Tzu discusses names (e.g. Chapters 1 and 32) and the Legalist texts discuss names and forms, but nowhere in them is the origin of names mentioned. The Huang-Lao manuscripts,however, do provide an answer to this important question. Faithful to the Taoist conception of cosmology, names are said to originate from Tao, and they are directly tied in with creation, showing the branching off of the myriad things from the primordial unity, the One, the Tao. The Tao Yüan states:

At the beginning of the eternal past,
All were permeated and identical with great vacuity.
Vacuously identical with the One, rest at the eternal One.
Unsettled and obscure, there was no differentiation into light and dark . . . .
Therefore it had no form.
It permeates extensively but has no name.

恒先之初,迵同大(太)虛,虛同為一,恒一而
止,濕濕夢夢,未有明晦..... 古(故)無
有刑,大迵無名.[7]

Although Tao is formless and nameless, It has no cause, and yet the "ten thousand things" are caused by it. 古(故)未有从,万物莫从.[8]

However, there is a very close relationship between Tao and hsing-ming, forms and names. In the Ch'eng 稱 manuscript (Balancing), is written:

> The Tao has no beginning but has responses. When something has not yet come into being, there is nothing. When it has come, let it be. When something is about to come into being, its form emerges first. It establishes itself by its form, and it is named by its name.
> 道無始而有應。其未來也，無之；其已來，如之。有物將來，其形先之。建以其形，名以其名。[9]

That is, when, in creation, a thing comes into being, it takes a form; it should then be recognized and treated as what it is and accorded a proper name. The sentence 其已來如之, "when it has come, let it be" has the same connotation as the Buddhist term 如來, "suchness", "the original face" or "let it come as what it is". This also explains the necessity for names to conform with their forms. When this has been accomplished, not only are forms and names linked with their primordial source, but all creation is in good order as well, for everything is now free to take its proper place.

In Ch'eng-fa 成法, (Established Laws or Methods), Li Mu, one of the Yellow Emperor's chief ministers, makes use of the relationship between creation and hsing-ming (forms and names) to show the proper method of governing the world:

> Li Mu said: "In antiquity, when heaven and earth had already been formed, as they were correct (in their formation) names resulted; when (elements) came together, then there were forms, [illegible] thereby kept to a single name. Above, it is taken from heaven; below, it is applied over the four seas. I have heard the established laws (or methods) of the world, therefore I say, not many. I stop at one phrase: Accord with names and return to the One, and the people will not disrupt order.

力黑(牧)曰：昔天地既成，正若(乃)有名，
合若(乃)有刑(形)，口从守一名。上捡之天，
下施之四海。吾聞天下成法，故曰不多，
一言而止。循名复(復)一，民無亂紀。[10]

In both the Lao Tzu and the Chuang Tzu, a description of the manner in which the Tao is translated into forms and names is lacking, as is an account of the manner in which forms and names take their place in political science. In the process of creation, forms emerge spontaneously, and as they take on a specific shape, names befitting them also arise spontaneously, because the moment a thing has come into being, it can be pinpointed and assigned a name distinguishing it from all others. The same principle can be applied to abstract entities and events. The Tao is beyond creation, and therefore beyond forms and names, although forms and names are not apart from It. If a ruler follows the Tao, empties himself of private, self-ish desires, and observes the formation of things and events in their creation, he will then be able to name them objectively, as the Tao does, in accordance with with their conformity to each other. Such action on the part of the ruler is wu wei, because he does not assert his own will, but, rather, follows the natural course of the Tao. Such an act should neither be regarded as a passive act; rather, it involves active but patient participation. In identifying himself with the Tao, a ruler is able to properly name the different things that come into being. That is what is called "According with names and returning to the One," 循名复一. This applies equally well to government and political affairs. "The One" is universal wholeness as well as political unity and harmony. The ruler does not act for himself; he acts on behalf of Heaven and Earth—the Tao.

In Kuo T'ung 果童, (named after one of the Yellow Emperor's ministers), the fourth scripture of the Shih-liu-ching 十六經, it is stated that: "The Earth nourishes the inherent virtues (of things) and thereby tranquilizes, and Heaven rectifies names and thereby acts. Tranquility and action nurture each other." 地倍(育)德、以靜,而天正名以作。靜作相養.[11] In the fifth scripture, Chêng Luan 正亂, (Rectifying Disorder), it is said:

> Heaven and Earth establish names, (things) are born of themselves so as to follow the form of Heaven . . . . I shall observe the completion of the past events and then take action, and wait for the coming events to complete their shape and then harmonize with them. One action, one harmony, this is the mysterious tactic of Heaven and Earth.
>
> 天地立名,口(物)自生,以隋(隨)天刑...
> 我將观其往事之辛而朵(動)焉,寺(待)其
> 来事之遂刑(形)而和焉。
> 壹朵(動)壹禾(和),
> 此天地之奇也.[12]

As revealed in the above passages, the Huang-Lao teachings not only advise a ruler to assign to things and events their appropriate names, but also to observe objectively the movements of things and events so as to harmonize with them. In so doing, he will be able to maintain peace and "govern" the world.

In the art of governing, it is vitally important t see to it that names match forms or actuality, for otherwise disorder will ensue. This requires the application of a ruler's insight into different circumstances to the actual methods utilized in maintaining political and social order and harmony. In Lun 論, (Discourses), the way of a ruler is discussed:

> Know the workings of falsehood and reality, movement and tranquility; achieve the mutual correspondence of name and actuality; understand thoroughly emotions and falsity and be not perplexed; then the way of emperors and kings is accomplished.
>
> 知虛实動靜之所為,達于名实相應,盡知請(情)僞而不惑,然后帝王之道成.[13]

The Szu Tu 四度, (The Four Measures) adds:

> It is because name and deed fit each other that it will last long. If name and deed do not fit, but name proceeds while actuality retreats, this is called losing the Tao.
>
> 名功相抱(孚一符合),是故長久。名功不相抱,名進實退,是胃(謂)失道.[14]

The Lun Yo 論約, (Discourses on Essence), discusses the desiderata of a Taoist ruler:

> Therefore he who upholds the Tao, in his observation of the world, must examine and observe that from which affairs initially arise, and examine their forms and names. When forms and names are settled the pros and cons have their positions, death and life have their lot, survival and perishing, prosperity and decay have their places. Then, measure them against the constant way of heaven and earth and then determine the location of calamities and blessing, death and life, survival and perishing, prosperity and decay.
>
> 故執道者之觀于天下也,必审觀事之所始起,审其刑(形)名。刑(形)名已定。逆順有立(位),死生有分,存亡興壞有處。然后參之于天地之恆道,乃定禍福死生存亡興壞之所在.[15]

It is here appropriate to outline the differences between the Huang-Lao and Legalist schools in their doctrines and applications of hsing-ming. The Legalists understand hsing-ming in a narrow sense, confining it to the rectification of names, restricting them to their established usages for the

purpose of serving the absolutism of a government or ruler. That was how the Legalists actually applied hsing-ming when in power—performances and rank titles in government were made to correspond. However, in the Huang-Lao school of thought, hsing-ming is understood to be the objective observation of the formation of things and events, and the appropriate "recognition" of the names that emerge with their formation. The process involves continually verifying that names and actuality are suited to each other, while maintaining their link with the formless and nameless Tao, which is the primordial source of forms and names. Therefore, hsing-ming here has both a broader, and a more literal, sense than its Legalist counterpart. The Tao-fa 道法, (The Law of Tao), states:

> In all matters, large or small, things make their places for themselves. To oppose or to conform, in death or life, things make their names for themselves. When names and forms are settled things correct themselves.
>
> 凡事無小大，物自為舍。送順死生，物自為名。名刑(形)已定，物自為正。[16]

An earlier passage reads:

> Trace them back to their formlessness: then you will know the place where calamity and blessing arise. The way to respond to changes is to stop at striking a balance. When lightness and heaviness are not balanced it is called losing the Tao.
>
> 反索之無刑(形)，故知禍福之所从生。應化之道，平衡而止。輕重不稱，是胃(謂)失道。[17]

In this passage, a guideline is set out: first, it is necessary to trace things to their origin, to their source—if a proper course is followed, calamity can be averted inasmuch as one then knows its potential origin; secondly, since circumstance are not static, because man is dealing with

an ever-changing reality--the phenomenal world--the proper response to changes is to strike a balance. The same applies to forms and names. When names do not correspond with forms, they are out of balance, and thus out of touch with Tao, and disaster is the result.

Thus, the Huang-Lao school's application of hsing-ming is far more profound and broad than the Legalists'. The latter do not link hsing-ming to the source of things, whereas the more speculative Huang-Lao thinkers connect it both with Heaven or Tao above and the proper management of earthly affairs below. A further difference between the two schools in regards to their views on hsing-ming is that in the Huang-Lao school, hsing or forms always precede and names follow. The Legalist school also discusses hsing-ming, but it is gradually transposed to ming-hsing, and finally changed altogether to chêng-ming 正名. Thus, emphasis shifts to names, which precede actuality, as for example, in the Legalist emphasis on titles (which precede) and performance.

In the Huang-Lao school, hsing-ming is not merely the link between the Tao and its creative activity; it is also the key to the Taoist art of government, as opposed to that of the Legalists, as well as to the underlying connection between Tao, principles of nature, and law.[18] Since the phenomenal world is both complex and eternally fluctuating, it is difficult for man to discover and conform to the principles underlying events. The final text in the Ching-fa, Ming Li 名理 (Names and Principles), provides an answer: since things and events are named at their creation, and the name corresponds to its form and to the characteristics of phenomena, an examination of the name and its reality will reveal these principles. It says:

> Whenever something has happened in the world, one must examine its name . . . .

> By following the name one investigates the principles which make all things occur. . . .
> To enquire into the name and the principles is called [to know] the beginning and the end. And this is called the enquiry of principles.[19]

Jan Yün-hua has pointed out that the Taoist theory of knowledge begins with worldly phenomena, which includes the definitions, positions and distinctions of things or events; observation and analysis yield solutions. When empirical knowledge is achieved it must be referred back to the "eternal Tao;" that is, empirical knowledge must be further verified in the light of universal principle. Once this has been accomplished, knowledge is returned once more to the empirical realm. With this knowledge can be found the ideal principles for handling worldly affairs.[20] Jan further points out that at the level of society, the social application of the principle is the law. Consequently, the Legalists share the Taoists' interest in the concept of Tao at an ontological level, and the concept of li (principle) at an epistemological level.[21]

Thus, the importance and the comprehensive functioning of hsing-ming in the Huang-Lao school is evident. The Huang-Lao texts differ from other Taoist texts in that they reveal much more of the relation between Tao and socio-political institutions in a positive fashion, whereas most other Taoist texts tend to negate these institutions.

CHAPTER V

PROMINENT FIGURES INFLUENCED BY TAOISM
A CLOSE ANALYSIS

A. Introduction: Dominant Trends (勢)

Beyond his volition, man is born into a natural and a social environment. He is both a product and a part of nature. "Man's environment" here is understood to mean "the work of heaven," or, for lack of a better word, and in a wider context, "nature". The personality, experiences, thought and actions of each individual contribute significantly to the shaping of history. Powerful individuals in history have always greatly influenced the development of events; that they are able to do so indicates their understanding of the trends and the circumstances of their epoch, and their ability to adapt themselves accordingly. Events steer these individuals into certain situations to which they respond, first, by determining the exigencies of the situation, and then by implementing the decision at which they arrive. In so doing, individuals make their contribution to the imperceptible work of heaven that channels the continuity of events.

The early Han period well demonstrates the interaction between "heaven" and man, and exhibits numerous instances of such individuals who shape history. Although "heaven" is impartial and has no will, it is the interaction between "heaven" and man at any given time from which result the predominating influences operative in the world at that time—economic boom or depression for example. Those who possess the insight to perceive and to make use of the predominating trends become successful, thereby preparing a solid foundation for later ages to build on. For example, the prevailing trend of the Ch'in-Han period was the breakdown of Chou feudalism, and the

unification of the different states into a whole, brought about by political and socio-economic changes originating in the late Ch'un Ch'iu period. The ideas and teachings of the major philosophical schools provided, in addition, the blueprint for the emergence of this trend. The genius of the philosophers and thinkers was endowed by "heaven", as were the natural resources of the different states. The political and socio-economic changes were man-made, and they were the fertile soil on which the philosophical ideas grew and bore fruit, in the interaction between "heaven" and man.

When a segment of this era, the early Han period, is examined in closer detail, its prevailing trends are seen to be the recuperation from the depradation of continual wars, the relaxation of the harsh, restrictive rule of the Ch'in, and the consolidation of the newly centralized government. Here, Taoist policy and practice took their place most fittingly. During the period from the beginning of the Han to the end of Emperor Ching's reign, there emerged many influential personages—Liu Pang, Hsiang Yü, Chang Liang, Han Hsin, Empress Lü, Ch'en P'ing, Chou P'o, Chia I, Ch'ao Ts'o, Emperor Wen and Emperor Ching—each of whom played an indispensable part in shaping the history of that period. However, some of these individuals were "successful", while others, such as Hsiang Yü and Ch'ao Ts'o, "failed" or died an untimely death, despite their influence; one must, therefore, examine the forces behind these individuals that brought forth their history-determining actions. The development of policies and strategies demands a study and understanding of the overall prevailing trends of the era in question. It is not a simple matter; failure to do so invariably entails disaster of one form or another. Chang Liang, Chia I, and Emperor Wen succeeded in this endeavour, and became the leaders of their respective epochs; Hsiang Yü did not, with calamitous results; and while Ch'ao Ts'o

perceived the trend of history in general, he was blind to the peril of his own socio-political surroundings, and his untimely death was the result.[1] Had Ch'ao Ts'o better emulated Chang Liang's Taoist methods, he might have averted calamity. In the case of Chang Liang, the success of so many of his plans and strategies can not be attributed to mere coincidence—what was their basis and why were they superior to those of others? Some answers will be offered below, in an adventurous approach to the examination of history, in which the origins of the thought and actions of the individuals who shaped history at this time will be explored in depth, through the study and analysis of their lives.

Adaptation to the overriding tendencies of one's own era is an important Taoist principle, as is adaptation to the principles of nature. "When cold weather comes one should put on heavier clothing." That is, one must comply with one's own time; within the perimeters of this restriction, one can exert one's influence and play one's role more successfully. The concern with prolonging and preserving one's life against all odds had been widespread in Chinese society since the classical times of Huang-ti, the Yellow Emperor. Its intensification became particularly justified and desirable after the Warring States period in light of the increase in warfare, the increase in material wealth and power of some segments of society, and, most of all, the precariousness of life itself at that time. This concern was common among all classes—kings, officials, commoners and slaves. Alchemists and necromancers, whether state-sponsored or not, were the very epitome of indefatigable effort in this pursuit. Regardless of their degree of success, they tried to prolong their individual lives, their family line, or their dynasty to tens and thousands of years, and coined the popular terms Wan Shui, 萬歲, Wan Shou 萬壽, both of

which mean "ten thousand years of age" or longevity. Unknowingly, many carried Taoist ideas to extremes, and misunderstood or distorted them in the process: Taoist adepts had always advised people to curb their desires, but many of these had extended their natural desires to the entangling desires frowned upon by true Taoists. In a manner of speaking, the alchemists' obsessions assisted in the reinforcement of the Chinese practice of ancestor worship—even if one could not live for thousands of years, at least one's family or clan, or dynasty in the case of a ruler, would continue forever, through the protection and blessing of ancestors.

There is a common Taoist saying: Those who go along with "heaven" (or nature) will flourish, and those who go against "heaven" will perish (順天者昌,逆天者亡). However, many fail to realize that heaven or nature is not easily understood and that such compliance demands patient observation and wisdom. Those who do not understand nature or heaven attribute their failure to fate, or lay the blame on "heaven" itself. Hsiang Yü killed himself when he was surrounded and refused to make his escape by boat across the river, explaining that since heaven decreed his death, he should not cross the river.[2] Ssu-ma Ch'ien admired Hsiang Yü's accomplishments and martial prowess, but he commented that Yü did not realize his own error, and was wrong in believing that heaven was responsible for his destruction.[3] The Tao Teh Ching says:

> Heaven and earth have no benevolence.
> They treat the ten thousand things impartially.
> The wise men have no benevolence.
> They treat the masses impartially.[4]

Heaven has no will; man cannot expect heaven to be benevolent: man must learn the way of heaven and apply himself accordingly. Both strong and able, Hsiang Yü could have made his escape across the river, and lived to initiate yet another struggle with Liu Pang. It was he who chose not to do so.

The important role of Taoism in the early Han period cannot be properly understood without a further exploration of the backgrounds, the thoughts and the actions of the prominent figures of the period. These were highly placed ministers who had great administrative power and considerable influence over the emperors. Below this group, most of the followers of Liu Pang were from the district of P'ei (沛), all commoners with realistic attitudes and practical capabilities. They were appropriate and effective in the implementation of great plans and strategies, applying themselves to assigned tasks as if these were their own missions in life (e.g. Fan K'uai 樊噲, and Shen Tu-chia 申屠嘉). Most remained loyal and faithful to Liu Pang and his descendants, as proved in the suppression of the Lü family's attempt to usurp the Liu mandate. However, in comparison with Chang Liang, for instance, these minor officials clearly lacked the understanding and the far-sightedness of the more prominent historical figures. Effective at carrying out orders, they were sustained within the dominant historical trends of their era and pushed along by them, whereas the prominent figures recognized the trends and maximized their utility. Both groups were creators of history, but their roles were clearly different.

It is to the prominent historical figures that attention will here be drawn, and the most representative members are selected for discussion--Chang Liang, Ch'en P'ing, Hsiao Ho, Ts'ao Shen, Lu Chia, Chia I, and Ch'ao Ts'o In particular their Taoist traits, and their implementation of them, are revealed, in large part by their biographies.

B. Chang Liang (張良)

The important role of Chang Liang in establishing the Han dynasty has not been adequately explored by most historians. The great historian

Ssu-ma Ch'ien thought that Chang Liang's fate was almost too inexplicable to have actually occurred. All he could say was that it was the will of heaven.[5] It is not uncommon for Chinese scholars to attribute to heaven things or events that cannot be explained by logical reasoning. However, if examined closely, Chang Liang's case can be understood, especially in light of Taoist thought and principles. His meeting with a Taoist master in his early twenties marked the turning point of his life, after which he became the guiding light of the Han dynasty.

Chang Liang was a native of the former state of Han (韓). For generations, the heads of his family had served as prime ministers of the state. In 230 B.C., the state of Han was destroyed by the state of Ch'in[6], and Chang's family was destroyed with it. To avenge his family and his state, he spent all his wealth in seeking a knight-errant to assassinate the king of Ch'in. Through the lord of Ts'ang-hai, Chang Liang found a man of great strength, and ordered a one-hundred and twenty-catty bludgeon to be fashioned for his use. Together, they ambushed Emperor Ch'in Shing Huang in Po-lang-sha (in Honan Province), but the bludgeon felled the wrong carriage. Having failed in the attempt and being sought for arrest throughout the empire, Chang altered his name and concealed himself in Hsia-p'ei.[7]

In Hsia-p'ei, a dramatic encounter took place: one day, as Chang strolled across a bridge, an old man in coarse garments approached him and deliberately dropped one of his shoes down the foot of the bridge, and bade Chang retrieve it. Chang was taken aback and prepared to strike him, but upon perceiving his age, he suppressed his antagonism and retrieved the shoe. The old man then further demanded that Chang put it on for him, and, since he had already fetched the shoe, Chang

knelt down and did so. The old man laughed and proceeded on his way. Astounded, Chang followed the old man with his eyes; after proceeding for some distance, the old man turned back and said to him: "You are the young man who can be taught. Meet me here at dawn after five days!" Awed, and mystified, Chang knelt once more, and promised to be there.

Five days later, when Chang returned to the bridge at the appointed time, the old man was there to meet him. Angry at his late arrival, the old man bade Chang return after another five days and arrive earlier. Five days later, Chang arrived at the crow of the cock and once again found the old man awaiting him. With anger, the old man once more asked him to come earlier the next time, and departed. After yet another five days, Chang went to the bridge before midnight. Before long, the old man joined him, and said: "This is the way it should be." Then, producing a book, he said to Chang, "If you study this you will become the teacher of kings. After ten years, you will rise (in importance). After thirteen years, you will see me. The yellow stone at the foot of Mount Ku-Ch'eng north of Ch'i will be me." He left without further words, and was never seen again.

At dawn, Chang examined the book and found that it was The Grand Master's Art of War;[8] thereafter, Chang treated it with reverence and read and studied it frequently.[9] The Grand Master's Art of War proposes different strategies or courses of action for military as well as all other pursuits. Also called The Three Schemes, (三略) because it is composed of three main sections (上中下), its main objective is to produce an understanding of the principle of Tao, without which these strategies cannot be applied effectively to situations of whatever sort. The book is therefore also known as The Plain Book (素書).[10] The

Treatise on the Six Arts and Literature in the Han Shu classifies The Grand Master's Art of War with the Taoist rather than in the section on the military. At the beginning of the Han, Chang Liang and another great general, Han Hsin 韓信, classified all the military books and treatises available at the time; they totalled one hundred and eighty-two lineages. The less significant were deleted, and the essential retained; the remaining thirty-five lineages were adopted for active use.[11] The Grand Master's Art of War was not classified as military inasmuch as it was the foundation text for all the military schools, and dealt more with the understanding and application of Taoist principles.

The old man who gave this book to Chang Liang never revealed either his name or his origin, although it can be inferred that he originated from the state of Ch'i, the cradle of most of the prominent Taoists and the enfeoffed land of Grand Master Wang. He was called Master Yellow Stone (黃石公), because his burial place in Mount Ku-ch'eng was marked by a yellow stone. Both his eyebrows and beard were white, his face and style of clothing strange; his spirit, however, was extraordinary. His outer garment resembled that of a Taoist.[12] It seems likely that Master Yellow Stone had heard of Chang Liang's courageous attempt on the life of the Ch'in emperor and wished to test and train him, from which ensued the dramatic encounter on the bridge. His remark "You are the young man who can be taught" signified that Chang was of the "proper material", worthy of teaching, and of being entrusted with the invaluable treatise.

That incident marked a turning point in Chang's life and attitude. He was transformed from a rash, youthful, would-be assassin, to a

tolerant, patient, profound and highly stable master of the state, much like Grand Master Wang. He could have become the first prime minister, but since his outlook and philosophy had been transformed he could no longer seek such a post. Because of his merit, he was offered enfeoffment in the land of Ch'i, with thirty thousand households to support him, but he declined the honour. He was sagacious enough to withdraw when his task was accomplished, without demanding his merited reward, thus revealing his understanding and application of Taoist philosophy. Chang Liang's profundity of understanding is revealed by Ssu-ma Ch'ien's remarks:

> Plotted within the tents of command,
> shaping victory out of chaos, these were
> the schemes and strategies of Chang Liang.
> Though he lacked fame or the renown of
> valour, he foresaw the difficult while
> it was still easy and brought forth great
> things from small. Thus I made the
> Hereditary House of the Marquis of Liu.[13]

Several episodes provide illustrations of the qualities Ssu-ma Ch'ien attributes to Chiang: after obtaining the book, Chang Liang studied it faithfully for ten years, at which time, as foretold by the old man, revolts against the Ch'in became widespread. When Chang met Liu Pang and his fellow rebels, he decided to assist him, because only Liu understood and appreciated his counsel. With his clear perception of the political situation as a whole, as well as his superior schemes, Chang not only assisted Liu in his defeat of the Ch'in army, but also won the bitter struggle with Hsiang Yü several years later. When Liu and his army entered Hsien-yang, (咸陽) Liu, despite the admonition of his close attendant, Fan K'uai (樊噲), was determined to remain in the Ch'in palace with the ladies of the court and all the choice court animals and treasures. Chang advised: "It's because the Ch'in

did not abide by the way of heaven that you were able to come to this victory. Now that you have eliminated these ruthless bandits for all the people, it is proper for you to don plain white garments of frugality to show your sympathy for the suffering masses. Now if you merely enter the Ch'in capital and immediately indulge yourself in its pleasures, it is what is called 'assisting the tyrant Chieh (桀) to perform violence.' Furthermore, loyal advice is displeasing to the ears but it profits its receiver, just as good medicine, though bitter to the taste, cures the disease. I hope that you heed Fan K'uai's words." It was indeed splendid advice, as Liu Pang discerned. Liu left the palace.[14] What is important to note here is that Chang Liang analysed the situation for Liu and then asked him to listen to Fan K'uai's counsel rather than his own; thus he accorded full credit to Fan K'uai.

In a second episode, during the struggle with Hsiang Yü, Liu Pang, on the advice of Li I-chi (酈食其), was at first determined to allow the descendants of the former six major states to establish themselves independently, because he felt this would check Hsiang Yü's power. It seemed, on the surface, an acceptable plan; however Chang Liang advised against it, since, if the descendants of the previous states established themselves independently, the capable and talented individuals of the empire would be separated and would return to their former sovereigns. Then, not only would the entire empire be fragmented once more, and beset with wars like those of the Warring States period, but Liu Pang and his followers would also be isolated, and would not be able to match Hsiang Yü's strength in battle. Perceiving his grave danger, Liu thereupon abandoned Li's "good" counsel and cursed him, saying, "That stupid Confucianist almost destroyed the whole business for his

father."[15]

Later, during one of their final skirmishes, when Liu and his troops were in pursuit of Hsiang Yü, and the reinforcements promised by Han Hsin and P'eng Yüeh (韓信, 彭越 had not arrived, Liu was pressed back into a staggering defensive. Once again Chang Liang wisely and successfully advised Liu to promise Han and P'eng large enfeoffments after the defeat of Hsiang Yu. Then, as soon as this message was received, both Han and P'eng immediately led their strong forces to attack Hsiang Yü from two directions, and brought about his final defeat.[16]

In numerous other incidents, Chang Liang turned the tide and solidified Liu Pang's position. Once, he advised Liu to establish the area within the Pass (Kuan Chung 關中) on the west as his capital, instead of Lo-yang (洛陽) in the east, beacause of its strategic location in commanding the large areas surrounding it. He assisted in subduing the clamoring meritorious followers of Liu who had not yet been enfeoffed, and, when Liu was on the verge of replacing the heir-apparent, he devised the plan of inviting the four venerable old men to consolidate the heir-apparent's position, and thereby maintained the stability of the Han court, and facilitated the continued implementation of Taoist policy. He was also instrumental in bringing about the appointment of Hsiao Ho as prime minister, and he himself stepped down from government to make this possible, knowing that Hsiao was highly capable of organizing the structure of the Han government.

As foretold by Master Yellow Stone, Chang passed by the foot of Mount Ku-ch'eng with Liu Pang thirteen years after their fateful meeting, and there found a yellow stone, which he kept and treated with great reverence, ordering that it be buried with him at his death.[17]

Without the counsel of Chang Liang, Liu Pang could never have founded the Han dynasty. Chang assisted Liu in turning aside danger, and transforming defeat into victory, and his strategical genius lay in his skilful application of the philosophy and techniques of Huang-Lao thought. Before he met Master Yellow Stone, Chang was an ordinary youth, wandering about, awaiting an opportunity for revenge on the Ch'in. The study of Huang-Lao, however, transformed him profoundly, and rendered him subtle, perceptive, and sagacious.

The Plain Book and the Three Schemes state:

> . . . .The way of heaven is natural, and its merits have no limit . . . . To be spirited, there is nothing more spirited than being the utmost of sincere . . . . A country that is well-governed and families that are well settled are the result of winning the people; a country that is ruined and families that are destroyed are the result of losing the people . . . . Provide those who are in danger with security . . . . Elevate those who are lowly to noble positions . . . . Smother those who slander . . . .The tender can overpower the hard; the weak can overpower the strong . . . . When (something is) obtained, do not be possessive of it . . . .If (one) can be tender and can be hard (his) country will manifest brightness; if (one) can be weak and can be strong (according to the situation), his country will manifest its good influences. . . .[18]

Thus, it was by Chang Liang's mastery of these principles and techniques that he assisted Liu Pang to win the entire country.

The Lao Tzu states:

> Knowing the positive (the masculine, the yang), and yet abiding in the negative (the feminine, the yin) is to be the abyss of the world.[19]
> The bright Tao seems dim.
> The progressing Tao seems to regress.[20]
> The softest of all things overrides the strongest of all things.[21]
> Those who are skilful in fighting never become angry.
> Those who are skilful in defeating the enemy never compete.
> Those who are skilful in employing people abide in humility. This is called the virtue of non-contention.
> This is called making use of the abilities of men.[22]

It was not only Chang Liang who embodied these Taoist teachings in all his maneuvers; under Chang's influence, Liu Pang also adopted this philosophy to a considerable extent. When Liu's father was captured by Hsiang Yü, who threatened to cook the old man alive, Liu remained calm and merely asked Hsiang, in true Taoist style, if he would be kind enough to give him a share of the meal.[23] With this psychological ploy, he saved his father's life.

Hsiang Yü frequently challenged Liu to single combat, to determine who was the stronger, but Liu, aware of Hsiang's might, always replied: "I prefer to combat with the mind; I cannot combat by brute force."[24] Thereafter, by always evading Hsiang's stronger forces, Liu eventually exhausted him and transformed defeat into victory. This is what Taoists call 'overcoming the hard with the soft', or 'knowing the masculine, to abide by the feminine.'

When Chang Liang saw that order and peace were almost restored and that no imminent trouble threatened the Han, he declared his intention to withdraw from the scene:

> I have avenged (myself) upon the the mighty Ch'in for the state of Han, and the whole world was shaken. Now that with my three-inch long tongue I have become teacher to an emperor (as pointed out by Master Yellow Stone), enfeoffed with ten thousand households (in fact, he was originally granted thirty thousand instead of ten), and given a position among the marquis, this is the utmost limit an ordinary man can reach; to me I am content already. Now I wish to forsake the affairs of the human world with the intention of joining the carefree wandering of Master Red Pine (the immortal sage).[25]

Thereafter, he studied the ways of cereal diets, breathing, and meditative exercises to achieve levitation.[26]

To Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Chang Liang was an extraordinary figure. His admiration is revealed throughout his lively account of Chang's exploits.

Liu Pang respected this man, who managed all affairs with wisdom, above all others. Even Liu Pang, the emperor himself, acknowledged Chang's superiority: "When it comes to sitting within the tents of command and devising strategies that will assure victory a thousand miles away, I am no match for Chang Liang."[27] Ssu-ma Ch'ien also remarks:

> I had always imagined, therefore, that Chang Liang must have been a man of majestic stature and imposing appearance. And yet when I saw a picture of him, his face looked like that of a woman or a pretty girl. Confucius once remarked, 'If I had judged by looks alone I would have sadly mistaken Tzu-yu.' The same might be said of Chang Liang.[28]

In fact, Chang Liang has been commonly described as having the tranquility of a recluse, although, in motion, he was as swift as a hare which has just escaped from a snare. With his mental abilities, he was capable of manipulating the entire world. No other advisor was a match for him: while Liu Pang questioned and slighted his other counsellors, he never ventured to do so with Chang Liang. On the contrary, he even desisted from his customary unruly and overpowering manners the moment Chang Liang came upon the scene. Chang's appearance was neither impressive nor dominating; rather, it was his calm, deep, yet free-flowing wisdom which impressed Liu. As the Tao Teh Ching advises, Chang did not dwell on his successes; for the sage, when his work is done, does not claim credit for it; he does not wish his virtue displayed.[29] Knowing when one has had enough will never lead to disgrace; to know where to stop will never endanger one. He who knows this will long endure.[30] Chang Liang was reputed to be prone to illness. Throughout Chinese history it was a common and accepted practice for Chinese officials to withdraw from disgrace, or to avoid attending the imperial court, or a punitive sentence, by claiming illness; it seems likely,

therefore, that Chang was merely preparing for his early retirement by manifesting "sickness", for otherwise he would have been urged to take an important office. As a result, he was able to die a natural death, unlike most other ministers, whose careers, less influenced by Taoist principles, ended either in disgrace or in execution. Although Chang had already accomplished a great deal and had ascended to the high position of "teacher to an emperor", he did not attach himself to power or great wealth and he yielded them with composure. Had another been in his place, or had he embodied Taoist teachings less profoundly, he could have re-established the state of Han (韓), or requested Liu Pang to enfeoff him as a king, as did most of the generals. Chang Liang's case is an excellent example of how historical events can be explained by examining the inner psyches and attitudes of historical figures.

C. Ch'en P'ing (陳平)

Ch'en P'ing was also prominent in the history of the early Han. Though not as highly cultivated as Chang Liang, he was, nonetheless, an intelligent Taoist. When young, he devoted himself to the Taoist teachings of Huang-ti and Lao Tzu.[31] Very poor, and supported by his elder brother's meager livelihood, he was nonetheless ambitious and applied himself to his studies.[32]

Not long after his marriage to a young widow, he was given charge of the local shrine in his native village of Hu-yu (戶牖). Because he was utterly fair in dividing the sacrificial meat among the worshippers, he was praised by the elders, and exclaimed: "Ah! If I could only become steward of the empire I would treat it in the same manner as this meat."[33] And he did, indeed, subsequently ascend to the position of prime minister.

When rebellions arose against the Ch'in, Ch'en joined King Chiu of Wei (魏王咎), one of the rebels, in Lin Tsï (臨濟). However, since the King of Wei did not heed his advice, he left Lin Tsï to join Hsiang Yü. After serving Hsiang for a short time, he left him as well, realizing that Hsiang was a temperamental and dangerous associate. Through a friend, Wei Wu-chih (魏無知), Ch'en was able to arrange an interview with Liu Pang, then King of Han (漢), who appreciated his ability.[34]

After several encounters with them, Liu Pang found himself surrounded by Hsiang's troops in the city of Jung-yang (滎陽城) and was uncertain as to the proper course to take: Ch'en P'ing analysed the strengths and weaknesses of both parties and then offered a plan to create dissension between Hsiang and his men and make Hsiang suspect their loyalty. Ch'en himself, by taking an active part in spreading slander among Hsiang's troops, ensured the success of the plan.[35] Thereafter, Ch'en on numerous occasions assisted Liu Pang in extricating himself from difficult situations, including one in which Liu and his troops were besieged by the Hsiung-nu nomads in the fortress city of P'ing (平城).[36]

In the sixth year of the Han (漢), it was reported that Han Hsin (韓信) was about to rebel against the Han. While the generals urged Liu to dispatch troops to subdue the villain, Ch'en advised against the move, pointing out that the Han troops and generals could never match Han Hsin's, and that therefore it was best to avoid antagonizing him to do battle. Instead, he suggested that Liu, now the emperor, embark on a southern tour, with the excuse of meeting with the various enfeoffed nobles, and then capture the unsuspecting Han Hsin. Liu heeded Ch'en's advice and Han Hsin was arrested without the waste of troops or resources.[37]

Because of his distinguished merits, Ch'en was generously favoured and enfeoffed as Marquis of Hu-yu, his home county. Ch'en was reluctant to accept the fief, pointing out that had it not been for his friend's recommendation, he would not have served Liu Pang. Then Liu rewarded Ch'en's friend Wei Wu-chih also, praising Ch'en for remembering the favour he had been rendered.[38]

Although Liu Pang trusted Ch'en, Ch'en was not immune from danger from the highly-placed ministers and imperial relatives, but his clear understanding of human nature and his sound judgment in times of crisis enabled him to extricate himself from whatever trouble arose. These same qualities later made possible another major achievement—the rescue of the imperial line from the ruthless hands of Empress Lü.

In the sixth year of Emperor Hui's reign, Prime Minister Ts'ao Shen passed away, and Wang Ling (王陵) was appointed Prime Minister of the Right and Ch'en P'ing Prime Minister of the Left.[39] Two years later, Emperor Hui passed away and Empress Lü, availing herself of the opportunity, set about establishing her family members as kings. The straightforward Wang Ling, unsuspecting of Empress Lü's dauntless ambition, refused to sanction her plan. Thereupon, Empress Lü consulted Ch'en P'ing, who unhesitatingly lent his approval to her intended move. In her wrath at Wang Ling, Empress Lü demoted him to the post of grand tutor to the new child emperor. Finally perceiving her designs, Wang resigned the position in rage, on the grounds of illness, and withdrew to his home, where he died seven years later.[40] Ch'en P'ing, on the other hand, had perceived the situation with acumen: as little could be done to oppose her at that time, he had feigned approval of Empress Lü's designs: now that the young emperor was dead, the empress held

supreme political power, and it would have been both unwise and untimely to oppose her will then. Any inappropriate move would have led only to disaster.

After Wang's resignation, Ch'en was prompted to the position of Prime Minister of the Right, and Shen I-chi (審食其), the Empress' favourite, was appointed Prime Minister of the Left.[41] The empress then set about installing her family members as kings. Although Ch'en feigned approval of these maneuvers, he conspired, with Grand Commandant Chou P'o (周勃), as soon as the empress died, to overthrow the government. Eventually, he eliminated the entire Lü family and established Emperor Wen as the legitimate successor, a scheme of which Ch'en was the sole architect and initiator.[42]

In view of the fact that Chou P'o had won prominence and renown by personally leading the army that eliminated the Lü family, Ch'en felt it incumbent upon him to yield the position of honour to Chou, and so resigned on the grounds of illness. When Emperor Wen discovered the reason for Ch'en's resignation, he appointed Chou Prime Minister of the Right, the highest official rank attainable, and assigned Ch'en to the secondary rank of Prime Minister of the Left.[43]

Later, when Emperor Wen became more adept in the handling of state matters, he questioned Chou P'o about the number of legal cases in the empire in one year, but Chou was not able to provide an answer. He then asked Chou the annual revenues and expenditures of the government, and again, Chou confessed his ignorance with shame. When the emperor directed these questions to Ch'en P'ing, however, Ch'en answered: "If your Majesty would like to ask questions about legal cases, you must ask the Commandant of Justice, and if you would like information on

revenue and grain you should demand that from the Secretary of Grain Revenue." The emperor replied: "If every matter has someone in charge of it, then what sort of matters are you in charge of?"[44] Ch'en's immediate response was a wise one:

> ". . . .To be a prime minister, it is one's duty to assist the Son of Heaven from above to manage the (balanced) forces of the yin and yang, and to see to it that all things proceed smoothly in accordance with the four seasons. From below, he must help to foster the highest potentials of the ten thousand things. Outside the state he must bring order to and pacify the barbarians in the four directions and the feudal lords, and within the state, he must bring cohesion among the common people and see to it that each of the ministers and officials is able to perform his proper duties."[45]

The emperor was highly pleased with this answer, although Chou P'o was rendered extremely uneasy: knowing that Ch'en's abilities far outstripped his own, Chou later resigned his post on the pretext of illness, leaving Ch'en the sole remaining prime minister.[46]

Ch'en P'ing's response to Emperor Wen was paradigmatically Taoist, in that it exemplified the principle of wu wei on two levels: here, the Son of Heaven from above is the personification of harmony in the universe, while the prime minister below acts as his emissary in bringing about this harmony within the state. When all things under heaven have attained their highest potential and each thing fulfills its duty and its role, then all is as it should be. This is at the first level. At the second, is the Legalist version of wu wei, a modification of the Taoist version, in which the conditions conducive to the attainment of the Taoist ideal are absent. On this second level, the Son of Heaven is the Emperor, the ruler, who is not required to act himself, but who assigns his ministers and officials their respective duties. This level is regarded by Taoists as a less than ideal, but at times necessary

step in the ascent to the higher level.

Ch'en P'ing did not long occupy this highest official position in the state, for he died in the second year of Emperor Wen's reign. Ch'en was aware of his shortcomings, and was wont to say "I have engaged in many intrigues, a thing forbidden by Taoist teachings. If my heirs should ever lose their positions, that would be the end. They would never regain them because of the many secret injuries I have inflicted."[47] As it happened, when his hereditary title of marquis was inherited by his great grandson Ch'en Ho (陳何), both the title and the fief were withdrawn, and never again restored to the family.[48]

Regarding Ch'en P'ing, Ssu-ma Ch'ien aptly remarks:

> . . . .Under Kao-tzu he again and again devised ingenious plans, found a way out of the most perplexing crises, and solved the ills of the state. Later, during the reign of Empress Lü, although the situation at court was complex and delicate, he managed in the end not only to save himself from harm but to assure the safety of the dynasty's ancestral temples as well, so that he died renowned and praised as a wise and worthy statesman . . . .[49]

Ch'en's success must be attributed to his study of the Taoist teachings of Huang-Lao and their appropriate employment in various situations. As revealed by his reply to Emperor Wen, he also applied the principle of wu wei to government in his position as prime minister, and this earned him his reputation as "a wise and worthy statesman". He contributed to the growth and stability of the Han dynasty by following a Taoist policy of governing, as did his predecessors Chang Liang, Hsiao Ho and Ts'ao Shen.

D. Hsiao Ho (蕭何)

The strength and duration of a dynasty in Chinese history is always determined by the extent and effectiveness of the political system established

at its inception by its founders, and by the capabilities of the senior ministers who maintain and work within the framework of that system. The Han dynasty, which endured for over four hundred years and directly affected the political structure of succeeding dynasties, is a useful example. The Ch'in cleared the ground for the construction of a unified central government and the Han established a structure on which to improve and consolidate that central government. Unlike his subordinates, Liu Pang was an ordinary man, neither a military general, nor a capable politician, nor a philosopher king. Still, he was capable of discerning the best strategy and the most suitable counsel to employ in a given situation, and he permitted his underlings to develop their potentials and talents. Hence his success. In his support of Liu, and in his formation of a political system and government structure, Hsiao Ho, of all his followers, was paramount. Aware of Hsiao Ho's capabilities, Chang Liang advised Liu Pang to appoint him to the position of prime minister, the better to stablilize the affairs and administration of the new state. In that position, Hsiao Ho's talents began to blossom in new directions, and, before long, the effect was noticeable.

Hsiao Ho hailed from the county of P'ei, the home district of Liu Pang, with whom he had long been acquainted. While P'ei remained under Ch'in rule, Hsiao was a petty official in P'ei; because of Hsiao's successful handling of official matters, the provincial inspector wished to promote him, by recruiting him to the central government. Hsiao, however, declined, preferring to remain in P'ei, in view of the intrigues and incompetence prevalent at court. Then, when Liu Pang joined other rebels in plotting the overthrow of the Ch'in, Hsiao and his friends, including his colleague Ts'ao Shen, joined Liu in P'ei, to whom he proved invaluable.[50]

When Liu Pang's troops entered the Ch'in capital of Hsien-yang, the generals and captains jostled one another in their eagerness to loot the storehouses of goods and treasures and to divide the booty amongst themselves. Hsiao Ho alone first entered the offices of Ch'in's prime minister and his secretaries, gathered the records, maps, books and law code files, and stored them away for safekeeping.[51] Later, when Hsiang Yü entered the capital, he set fire to the Ch'in palace, which then burned for several months. Had Hsiao Ho not had the forethought to move quickly, the Ch'in records would have been entirely destroyed. The significance of this deed was immeasurable--with the records of the Ch'in, Hsiao was able to discover all the strategic sites of the empire, the population and relative strengths of its various regions, and the difficulties and grievances of its subjects.[52] With this invaluable information, Liu Pang was then prepared to defeat the other military leaders, including Hsiang Yü, and eventually won the entire empire. It was not Liu's "fate" to become the first Han emperor; rather, there were clear empirical grounds for his success, such as the loyal support of his old friends Chang Liang, Hsiao Ho, and Ts'ao Shen.

Whenever, in his continual struggle with Hsiang Yü, Liu Pang had been forced to retreat, and his troops had dispersed, Hsiao sent provisions as well as reinforcements and arms to sustain him, from the hinterlands of Shu Han[53] (蜀漢, the Szechuan region where Liu was first enfeoffed by Hsiang Yü as King of Han). In the fifth year of the Han, in 202 B.C., Hsiang Yü was defeated and the empire was once more at peace. In evaluating the merits of his followers, Liu Pang considered Hsiao Ho for the highest post; however, his other meritorious followers protested the fairness of the judgment, claiming that, while they had all fought in many intense battles and seized many cities and territories,

Hsiao had taken part in none of the campaigns. Liu Pang responded with an allegory:

> "In hunting, it is the dog that is sent to chase and kill the beast, but it is the hunter who unleashes the dog and points out the whereabouts of the beast. Since you gentlemen only succeeded in capturing the beast, your merit is that of a hunting dog. As for Hsiao Ho, who unleashes and gives directions, his merit is that of the hunter . . . ."[54]

Upon hearing that, no one ventured to speak, and Hsiao was further honoured with the liberty of wearing a sword and shoes when granted an imperial audience.

Since Hsiao had once served as a county official under the Ch'in, he was thoroughly familiar with its laws and with the workings of its system. As he was a capable official, he was aware of the hardships and grievances of the poor. The failure of the Ch'in lay not in its political or administrative systems, but in its neglect and ruthless treatment of its subjects; thus, when Hsiao was appointed prime minister, he applied himself to alleviating the sufferings of the masses, and to eliminating the harsh laws that survived from the Ch'in, retaining only those parts of Ch'in law that were in accordance with the general wishes of the people, an act which marked a new beginning for the empire.[55] As a result of these improvements, Hsiao won universal public favour.

The laws and regulations of the early Han were enacted by Hsiao Ho and were based on modifications to the existing Ch'in laws. Although he could have introduced new laws and new systems entirely, he had the perspicuity to appreciate the effectiveness and advantages of the Legalist Ch'in system, as compared to the collapsing "feudal" system of the Chou. Had he followed the iconoclastic politicians and statesmen

who wanted to introduce new laws for the sole purpose of demonstrating their intelligence and "creativity", instead of benefitting from the lessons of the past, the Han dynasty could not have stood on the firm ground it did. As a statesman, Hsiao knew how to fulfill his role and performed well the tasks entrusted to him. Unlike other prime ministers, he did not plague the emperor with advice. Liu Pang discerned, for the most part, what he must do, and, for the rest, he had advisors like Chang Liang and Ch'en P'ing, whose sole tasks were to advise him regarding major issues; therefore, Hsiao concentrated his efforts on governing the state and maintaining domestic peace. Confident that Hsiao was the person best suited for that task, Liu Pang refrained from interfering with his functions, and attended to his own affairs at court. Hsiao's abilities and achievements were well demonstrated by the fact that he was able to supply armed forces and provisions from the home base to Liu's battlegrounds without causing either complaints from the people or exhaustion in the hinterlands. A capable and conscientious administrator, Hsiao won over the masses, who were therefore willing to lend their support to a system not entirely different from that of the Ch'in.

As an administrator, Hsiao recognized the talents of others, and appointed them to posts that would best utilize their abilities. The best example of this is his recognition of Han Hsin as a military genius, whom he subsequently recommended highly to Liu Pang, for without Han's aid, Liu Pang's troops could not have defeated Hsiang Yü. After being falsely accused of plotting rebellion, however, Han Hsin began, in Liu Pang's absence, to foment a rebellion in earnest. When Hsiao Ho became aware of the danger, he devised a scheme for the empress to

capture Han Hsin; the plan succeeded and the rebellion was quashed.[56]

So effectively did Hsiao Ho fulfill his responsibilities that he held the position of prime minister until his death. A man of principle, he did not permit private affairs to interfere with what was proper. He perceived, and tailored his actions to the prevailing course of his era. At his death-bed, Emperor Hui (Liu Pang's heir-apparent who became emperor in 194 B.C.) asked Hsiao who could succeed him as prime minister. Hsiao Ho recommended Ts'ao Shen, a petty official and former colleague in P'ei, despite the disagreement that had arisen between them after Hsiao had begun to work for Liu Pang, because he knew that Ts'ao was best qualified to continue his own work.[57] It is only men with open minds who achieve greatness, and this Hsiao certainly possessed.

Hsiao Ho was a cautious man, who thought in terms of the long run always. After Liu Pang had secured the empire, many of his ambitious followers were eliminated. Hsiao Ho was among the few who both maintained his high position and died a natural death. When, during his lifetime, he invested in land or houses, he consistently selected unattractive sites and buildings without elaborate walls or roofs, reasoning that his worthy descendants would follow his frugal example, while the unworthy would be better able to keep the property without its being coveted and seized by more powerful families,[58] a Taoist approach advocated by the Tao Teh Ching.[59]

E. Ts'ao Shen (曹參)

Ts'ao Shen was also a native of P'ei. While Hsiao Ho was the leading local petty official, Ts'ao was the chief sheriff of P'ei. When Liu Pang initiated his uprising against the Ch'in, Ts'ao also

joined him, and thereafter became Liu's faithful follower. From a relatively low rank, he gradually rose to power by successfully leading campaigns, against first the Ch'in forces and later against Hsiang Yü. Through a series of promotions he ascended from the position of Seventh Grandee to that of General, with its attendant enfeoffment and noble titles, one of which was that of Marquis of Chien Ch'eng (建成侯).[60] In the second year of Liu Pang's reign as King of Han, Ts'ao was honoured with the position of Provisional Prime Minister of the Left (假左丞相), and in the sixth year of Liu's reign, when Hsiang Yü had been killed and Liu Pang assumed the title of Emperor, Ts'ao was enfeoffed as the Marquis of P'ing-yang (平陽侯) with sixteen thousand households for his support. Furthermore, Ts'ao was asked to assist Liu's eldest son Fei, king of Ch'i, as his prime minister.[61]

When Emperor Hui succeeded Liu Pang, Ts'ao was reappointed as Chancellor of Ch'i, a sizeable state with some seventy cities. At that time, the empire was just returning to order after the subjugation of the rebellious kings and generals. The new King Tao-hui (悼惠王) of Ch'i was yet young when Ts'ao was first appointed to the post. Ts'ao summoned all the elders and scholars of Ch'i and inquired of them how peace and stability could be brought to the people. Of the hundreds of Confucian scholars who had come to settle in Ch'i, each proffered a different opinion and Ts'ao was hard put to arrive at a conclusion. When he heard that a renowned scholar, Master Kai, lived in Chaio-hsi, he dispatched a messenger with a large sum of money as a gift to lure the master to his official quarters.[62] Renowned for his Huang-Lao teachings, Master Kai, upon his arrival, advised Ts'ao to administer the state with purity and tranquility, whereupon the people would in turn attain

peace and stability by their own means. He supported his presentation with arguments as well as examples by way of illustration. So impressed was Ts'ao that he surrendered his own seat of authority to Master Kai. In governing Ch'i, Ts'ao adhered, for the most part, to the teachings of Huang-Lao. During his term of office--nine years--the state of Ch'i enjoyed peace and stability and Ts'ao was highly praised as a virtuous minister.[63]

During the second year of Emperor Hui's reign, in 193 B.C., Hsiao Ho, the prime minister of the empire, passed away, and Ts'ao Shen was summoned to the Han court to replace him. Before he set out, Ts'ao advised his successor in Ch'i that the first priority in governing was to avoid disturbing prisons and market places because it was there that evil men dwelled, and, if pushed too far before they could be reabsorbed into society, they would create trouble.[64] Such advice was inspired both by his Taoist understanding and his actual experiences in the governing of Ch'i.

When Ts'ao took up the post of Prime Minister of the Han, at the central government, he initiated no major changes in the management of affairs; rather, he strictly adhered to the policies that had been established by Hsiao Ho, his predecessor. From the provincial as well as federal government officials, he recruited for his staff those who were serious, sincere and trustworthy, rather than those who were merely good orators. Those who strove to make a name for themselves or who applied the letter of the law without reflection were immediately dismissed from office. He did not attend to administration himself; instead, he drank wine night and day. Those who broached the subject of governmental affairs were persuaded to join him in drinking until

they were inebriated. When he discovered someone guilty of a minor fault, he deliberately covered up for him without ordering an investigation. In this way, little occurred in the ministerial office.[65]

After some time Emperor Hui began to wonder why the prime minister was not attending to his affairs, and suspected that Ts'ao had contempt for his own ability as a young emperor. He dared not confront Ts'ao directly, however, and asked Ts'ao's son, a palace counsellor, to find out secretly his father's motivations. When questioned by his son as to why he did not attend to ministerial business, he gave his son a thorough beating and replied: "Go back to court at once to do your work; you are not in a position to speak about the affairs of the empire."[66] As his answer to his son and his response to the discovery of minor faults in his underlings revealed, Ts'ao was not actually in neglect of his duties. In fact, he was attentive of all that passed—if something actually had gone amiss he would have taken the necessary measures to set matters right, another Taoist practice he had learned from Master Kai in the state of Ch'i.

At the next court assembly, Emperor Hui politely chastized Ts'ao for beating his son, since he had dispatched Ts'ao's son to question his father. Ts'ao then asked Emperor Hui which of Hui himself and Hui's father Liu Pang, was the stronger in wisdom and military prowess, and which of Hsiao and Ts'ao was the more capable prime minister. The emperor replied that he dared not consider himself a match for his father, and that Ts'ao seemed less capable than Hsiao. Ts'ao replied: "What Your Majesty has said is correct. Emperor Kao-tzu (Liu Pang) and Hsiao Ho pacified the entire empire and the laws to rule (the country) have been made plain and clear. Now if Your Majesty were to just

dangle your robes and fold your hands[67], while I, Ts'ao, and other officials guarded well our positions and followed without error what has been laid down, wouldn't that be good enough?"[68] The emperor concurred, and followed his proposal; thus, under the influence of Tsao Shen, the emperor became further steeped in the Taoist practice of government. Knowing their abilities and their limits, both the emperor and Ts'ao realized that the right course to take was the reinforcement of the foundation established by the founders of the dynasty, and the continuation of their work.

In fact, during his term of office, Ts'ao Shen had the assistance of visiting counsellors in addition to that of his regular staff. Through Peng Che (蒯徹), a sophist from Ch'i, Ts'ao secured the services of two renowned recluses who had concealed themselves deep in the mountains during the period of war and unrest. These were Masters Tung Kuo and Liang Shih, both of whom originated from the state of Ch'i, and they were honoured by Ts'ao as eminent guests or "respectable consultants."[69]

Three years later, Ts'ao died. The commoners eulogized him in a song:

> Hsiao Ho made the laws,
> As simple and easy as drawing the figure 'one'.
> Ts'ao Shen took his place,
> And guarded them well without trespass.
> He maintained his governing with purity and tranquility,
> And the people were at peace and united.[70]

Regarding Ts'ao Shen, Ssu-ma Ch'ien comments that during his term of office as prime minister, his purity and quietude could be said to be in complete accord with the Tao. Because Ts'ao allowed the common people, who had just emerged from the harsh oppression of the Ch'in, to rest and find peace in the practice of wu wei, all within the empire

praised his worthiness.[71]

Three of the four figures discussed above were prime ministers of the early Han. In the Former Han dynasty, the position of prime minister was highly honoured and respected, second only to that of "Son of Heaven". In the Ch'in dynasty, this position was also highly regarded; however, the ruler frequently had little respect for the prime minister, dominated him, and used him for his own purposes. As a result, the prime minister of the Ch'in was not as free to implement his own wishes and methods of government as his counterpart in the Han. In the Han, prime ministers were more or less left to carry out their duties without interference. Although the emperor remained supreme, his power was considerably curbed, not only by the prime minister, but also by the Imperial Secretaries or Censors (御史大夫, Yu-shih-ta-fu) whose responsibilities were to make recommendations and to administer the policies of the government and to examine and comment upon the conduct of the emperor and the ministers. The emperor could not really wield his power freely (as did Ch'in Shih Huang Ti and other tyrannical emperors) but required the approval of his ministers, and, most particularly, the prime minister. Thus, even Empress Lü had to seek the approval of Ch'en P'ing before enfeoffing her family members. The emperor was required to conduct himself according to what was expected of him—rewards and punishments had to be carried out in accordance with certain rules that took into account the degrees of merit or the heinousness of the crime, respectively. Therefore, in the Former Han dynasty, an individual holding the position of prime minister could influence the entire empire, including the emperor. The prime minister led and supervised all other ministers and offices, and administered all the ten thousand state affairs for the

emperor and the state. Since to a greater or lesser degree all the prime ministers were Taoists, all attempted to implement Taoist practices in governing, in order to fulfill the Taoist ideal. In other words, they wished to carry out the will or the way of heaven (替天行道; this became the popular motto for uprisings against rulers who neglected the way of heaven), by providing a suitable environment in which people could have peace and fulfill themselves. It was only in a later period, when the emperor wished to exercise more power that the influence of the prime minister was gradually eroded, and not until the early T'ang dynasty was the authority of the prime minister fully restored, a revival that signalled the beginning of another magnificent dynasty and government system.

F. Lu Chia (陸賈)

Lu Chia, a renowned sophist or dialectician, originated from the state of Ch'u (楚). He joined Liu Pang as an honourable guest (i.e. an advisor) and assisted him in pacifying the empire. His eloquent analysis of the dominant trends of the time enabled him to win over Chao T'o of southern Yüeh with words rather than troops. Chao T'o was highly pleased with Lu Chia's speech, and remarked that within the whole of his domain, no one could speak like Lu or enlighten him on so many things.[72]

Master Lu (Lu Chia was so addressed by both his superior and by his colleagues) frequently expounded on and praised the Book of Odes and the Book of History (詩、書) to Kao-tsu Liu Pang, who despised Confucian scholars and Confucian learning. Liu reproached him, saying that since he had won the empire on horseback, he saw no reason why he should heed the old books. Master Lu answered: "You have won it on horseback, but do you prefer to rule it on horseback? King T'ang (湯, of the Shang

dynasty) and King Wu (武, of the Chou dynasty) took control of the empire by revolt but they safeguarded their empire by following peaceful principles. To apply both civil and military principles is the technique of long lasting effects . . . ."[73] Embarrassed by this sharp rebuke, the emperor requested him to write out the reasons for the failure of the Ch'in and for his own success, and also to account for the successes and failures of the ancient states. Accordingly, Master Lu began a book of twelve sections, which, in essence, discussed the keys to survival in politics. As each section was presented, the emperor and all others present praised it consistently. Lu entitled his book New Discourses.[74]

Lu Chia's Taoist leanings exhibit some of the teachings of the Tao Teh Ching. This is clearly manifested in his adaptability and flexibility in difficult situations. His free, wandering lifestyle subsequent to his "voluntary" early retirement from court, set a good example for the officials of later eras, who often took up a Taoist lifestyle after their resignations from official posts; failing this, they were "Confucians at the office and Taoists at home."

When Empress Lü was in power, Master Lu estimated his own strength and concluded that he could not prevail in a struggle against her. On the pretext of illness, he resigned, in order to remain at home. He made his home in Hao-chih (好時) where the land was fertile, and he sold his precious objects and divided the proceeds equally among his five sons so that they could earn their own livelihoods. Then, in a comfortable carriage drawn by four horses, and with a retinue of ten talented attendants who sang, danced and played various instruments, he travelled about and occasionally visited each of his sons in turn.

His visits were only occasional, however, because, as he said to them: ". . . .If we were to see each other too often, our meetings would lose their freshness, and I would not like to burden you with a prolonged stay."[75]

When Empress Lü threatened the legitimate imperial line, Master Lu suggested to Ch'en P'ing that the prime minister and the grand commandant should remain together so that even if the court was in disorder, the land and the people of the empire would remain at peace. As a result, Ch'en P'ing, the prime minister, and Chou P'o, the grand commandant, became fast friends, and later, the two joined forces in overthrowing the Lü family.[76]

Taoists were said to have absorbed the favourable aspects of the Confucian and Mohist schools and extracted the essences of the Nominalist and Legalist schools. In the early Han, many prominent figures did indeed exhibit such powers of discrimination, although some, like Lu Chia, would not label themselves as Taoists. Even down to Han Wu-ti's time, when Confucianism gained more recognition, most officials were well-versed in the major schools--namely, Confucianism, Taoism, Legalism, and Yin-yangism. Although Lu Chia was familiar with the Confucian classics, he did not follow their teachings strictly; rather, he made use of them on appropriate occasions, as, for example, in his remonstration of Liu Pang. In fact, he was regarded more as a dialectician, a school which was an offshoot of Taoism and Legalism. Like all of his important contemporaries, he demonstrated his wisdom in both his speech and his actions. He knew how to enjoy himself—with elegance but without extravagance: his carriage was comfortable and musicians ever in attendance. He was unconventional yet wise in divid-

ing his wealth equally among his five sons, and in visiting each of them only on occasion so as not to create a strain on his relationship with them. He maintained his dignity as both a father and a statesman, and all of his colleagues respected him, although his rank was not a high one. He was ever at ease with himself, and did not seek fame or wealth deliberately, but merely acted as he saw fit. His behaviour, and his attitudes, exemplified the Taoist teachings he had inculcated. A common Chinese saying warns that to serve a ruler at court is as dangerous as to serve a tiger, and, although the misfortunes of so many court ministers throughout Chinese history give alarming validation to that saying, Lu Chia, with wisdom and care, led an exemplary and contented life, and died a natural death.

At this point, it is necessary to add that, skilfully and imperceptibly, Lu Chia influenced both Liu Pang and his colleagues. His work, the New Discourses, a harmonious amalgamation of Confucian and Taoist ideas, whose title was bestowed by Liu Pang because of its originality and freshness, was deeply appreciately by both the emperor and the ministers.

The lasting foundation of the Han dynasty was laid down by two groups of individuals: the first was composed of practical men like Hsiao Ho, Ch'en P'ing, and Chou P'o, who were instrumental in stabilizing a tumultuous epoch; the second consisted of intellectual men, such as Lu Chia, Chia I, Ch'ao Ts'o and Tung Chung-shu, who, both directly and indirectly, created the theoretical framework of the dynasty. The first group brought about the growth of Legalism and Taoism, while the second engendered the growth of Confucianism and Taoism. It must be stressed that both were equally necessary in estab-

lishing the lasting structure of the Han dynasty. Lu Chia was the initiator of the second trend, and he was followed by Chia I.

G. Chia I (賈誼) (201-169 B.C.)

Chia I, an intelligent and talented young man from the burgeoning city of Lo-yang, was well-known for his scholastic achievements and his knowledge of the major schools of thought. When just over twenty, he was summoned by Emperor Wen as an Erudite, the youngest at court. Whenever there were edicts or ordinances that required discussion, and the older masters had no contribution to make, Chia I answered for them, expressing their ideas in manner that aroused their envy and admiration, and they acknowledged his capabilities thereafter. Emperor Wen was highly pleased with him and promoted him repeatedly by leaps; within a year, Chia I had advanced to the position of Palace Counsellor.[77]

Since the Han had now been in power for over twenty years, and the empire was now at peace, Chia I suggested to Emperor Wen that the time had come to institute changes that would bespeak the fact that the Han was a new dynasty approved by heaven. He proposed a change in the colour of the vestments and in the titles of officials, as well as the encouragement of the practice of rites and music. However, Emperor Wen modestly declined most of his recommendations, and agreed only to the revision of law codes and regulations and the return of the marquises to their home territories. Nevertheless, the emperor consulted his ministers regarding the promotion of Chia I to the position of top ranking minister. The response was negative—all the important veteran ministers disapproved of such a promotion, and denounced Chia I as an ambitious young man who sought to foment disorder.

Henceforth, although the emperor appointed Chia as the grand tutor to the King of Ch'ang-sha,[78] he kept him at a distance and ignored his recommendations.

This requires some comment. Both the emperor and Chia I were very young, though capable (Emperor Wen was twenty-four); Emperor Wen had practical wisdom whereas Chia I had intellectual acumen: while Chia saw the need to reshuffle the organization of government in order to make a fresh start, Emperor Wen, who understood his good intentions, "modestly declined" to institute his recommendations, which, though good, were untimely. His avoidance of Chia was necessary, if further opposition from the veteran ministers who considered Chia's proposals incendiary was to be averted. Yet the emperor did adopt Chia's less provoking suggestions; thus, he returned the marquises to their own domains, and sought the opportunity to promote Chia to a top-ranking ministry so that his proposals would have more weight and would no longer be slighted on account of his extreme youth. His appointment of Chia as grand tutor of the King of Ch'ang-sha was, therefore, merely a maneuver to keep him close at hand until the opportunity was ripe for his return to active politics.

Believing himself demoted, Chia felt alienated and frustrated. On his way to Ch'ang-sha, as he was crossing the river Hsiang (湘水), where the Ch'u poet and statesman Ch'ü Yüan (屈原) drowned himself, he composed an ode of sympathy to commemorate Ch'ü Yüan and, at the same time, to express his own sorrow.[79] When Chia I had been grand tutor to the king of Ch'ang-sha for three years, a fu owl, believed to be a bird of misfortune, flew inside his lodging and stood by him. Ch'ang-sha was a damp, low-lying region, and Chia I believed that his death was drawing near. To reassure himself, he composed the famous poem "The Ode of the Fu Owl", which echoed the worldview of Lao Tzu

and Chuang Tzu.[80]

Approximately one year later, Emperor Wen, who had been giving some thought to Chia I, summoned him to court. At the audience, Emperor Wen, who was at that moment receiving sacrificial meats, was prompted by the occasion to ask Chia I about the nature of gods and spirits. Chia I expounded on the topic in such great detail that the emperor was so absorbed he forgot that midnight was approaching. He afterwards remarked that he had not seen Chia for some years, and that though he had thought his own knowledge surpassed that of Chia, he now realized that he was no match for him. He then appointed Chia I as the grand tutor of King Huai of Liang, because the studious King Huai was the beloved youngest son of the emperor.[81] In assigning Chia I to that post, the emperor was now able to consult with him at will. Thus, the fact that Emperor Wen had always thought of Chia I and was eager to talk with him showed that he indeed appreciated him. Both young men were intent on self-improvement and were concerned with the well-being of the state and its people. However, in view of the circumstances of the time they were not entirely free to do as they wished. The time was not yet ripe for the implementation of major changes and the experienced ministers held sway in the making of state policy. Emperor Wen was thus compelled to assign Chia I to an important post at a sufficient distance from court politics.

At this time, the strengthened Hsiung-nu began a series of sporadic border raids. Internally, however, the country remained at peace. Government regulations and institutions remained lenient and broadly structured. Taking advantage of their freedom, the kings and marquises began to usurp the central authority by building up their wealth and

expanding their territories. Perceiving this, Chia I several times submitted memorials to remonstrate the emperor,[82] and, so far as was possible, Emperor Wen accepted Chia I's proposals. Only those issues that would arouse considerable opposition he quietly set aside, with the hope that conditions would eventually be more favourable for their introduction. However, the eager and sincere Chia I was extremely frustrated nonetheless.

Some years passed, during which Chia remained grand tutor to King Huai of Liang. One day, the king died as a result of a fall from his horse. Chia, bitterly lamenting the king's death, as well as his own pitiful condition, died one year later, at the age of thirty-three. Four years later, the King of Ch'i died also. Seizing this opportunity, Emperor Wen was at long last able to implement Chia's proposal of dividing the strong states so as to weaken their power, and he divided Ch'i into six smaller states.[83] Thus, had Chia lived four years longer, his indignation at not having been heeded would have been dispelled, and his honour as advisor vindicated, for Emperor Wen then further established the policy, also suggested by Chia, of reducing the number of kings and marquises. He promoted Chia I's two grandsons to positions as provincial magistrates, and granted one of them, Chia Chia (賈嘉), who devoted himself to learning, hereditary rights to the position.[84] In evaluating Chia I, Pan Ku, in eulogy, quoted Liu Hsiang, a learned official and critic of the Former Han:

> Chia I talked about the meaning of the orderly governing of the three dynasties (i.e. Hsia, Shang, Chou) and the chaotic situation of the Ch'in. His discourses were very appropriate and his understanding comprehended the whole polity. Even I Yun (伊尹) and Kuan Chung (管仲)[85] of antiquity could not surpass him very far . . . .[86]

Such praise of Chia was not exaggerated. Chia was a genius who towered over all his contemporaries, both scholars and ministers. The meritorious ministers who assisted in founding the Han dynasty belonged to one category of natural endowment, whereas Chia I belonged to another. The early founders were earnest, wise, practical, steadfast and skilful statesmen who contributed much to the solidarity of the dynasty, whereas Chia I was an intelligent, sensitive, perceptive and systematic thinker and political scientist who made his silent contribution not only to the dynasty's solidarity, but also to that part of the structural framework of government which was based on centralization and the supreme moral authority of the emperor. He was a synthesizer who absorbed the essences of Taoism, Confucianism and Legalism and wove them into his political thought. His contribution was silent because not all of his proposals were accepted immediately and he died too soon to see his ideas take effect. Not until the reigns of Emperors Ching and Wu was the importance of his proposals realized—when, subsequently, they were carried out, they contributed largely to the consolidation of both the dynasty and the governing system.

An examination and an analysis of his memorials to Emperor Wen and his own written works reveals much regarding the orientation of his thought. His works consist of fifty-eight chapters, titled New Writings, by Liu Hsiang, the Han critic. His "Schemes for (Lasting) Peaceful Government" (治安策), submitted to Emperor Wen, reveal an ingenious application of Confucian, Taoist, and Legalist philosophies to varying conditions, in order to bring about enduring peace to both government and country.

Since the Han had already been established for over twenty years and the country was now unified and approaching stability, it seemed

to Chia I that the time had come for the government to plan a course toward enduring peace within the empire, because given the manner in which affairs within the empire were developing, trouble would sooner or later develop if the existing system maintained its present course. Externally, the Hsiung-nu still posed a threat; internally, the kings and princes with sizeable and wealthy domains were potential rebels against the central government.[87] Chia I drew attention to the encroaching dangers, although the government maintained its existing policy of appeasement toward the Hsiung-nu, and took no immediate action regarding the kings and princes, whose fractiousness continued to grow. Although Emperor Wen was both kind and virtuous, his personality made little impression on the ambitious and rebellious tendencies of these regional overlords.

Combining both Taoist and Legalist theories, Chia I proposed a new policy of substantially increasing the number of overlords in to lessen their individual strength. The policy would be implemented by requesting the kings and princes with large domains to delegate their territories to their sons. Following Chuang Tzu's example, he likened this task to that of a skilful butcher. The butcher can cut open twelve oxen without blunting his knife because he knows how to open a carcass; however, when it comes to cutting hip bones, he uses a chopper or an axe.[88] Using the knife was the Taoist method, whereas using the chopper to tackle difficulties was the Legalist method. For Chia I, benevolence and righteousness represented the smooth operation and skilful use of a sharp knife, and supreme authority and strict enforcement of laws and regulations in handling crises represented the appplication of a chopper or an axe. That is, the political problem

of the kings and princes was analogous to the hip bones which had to be tackled with choppers; a policy of kindness or benevolence could only result in tragedy. The best policy was 'divide and rule.' Were the feudal states small, they could easily be directed with benevolence, nor could they easily harbour potential rebellions. The empire would then be governed smoothly from its centre out through its various parts, just as the body governs the arms, and the arms, the fingers. In such a state, even the common people would know their place, and attend to their own affairs without distraction; all under heaven would perceive the emperor's integrity, benevolence, righteousness and understanding; laws would be established, although no one would break them; nor would intrigues arise. Thereupon would result enduring peace and stability.[89] In such a state, in fact, wu wei itself would have been achieved.

Chia I further drew attention to the extravagance of the rich and its undesirable effect on the empire. Although the rich, when selling their slaves, dressed them in brocades and embroidered garments (to enhance their own prestige as well as to raise the price of the slaves), the emperor merely wore a thick, black, silk robe. The evil practices of the Ch'in thus persisted into the Han: people competed in extravagance and disregarded both propriety and integrity; at the extreme were instances of patricide and fratricide, as well as the theft of ceremonial vessels from temples, and, in the large cities, the theft of gold in broad daylight. In order that the people would once more direct themselves towards the proper way, it was necessary to put a stop to these tendencies and practices,[90] and it was no doubt under Chia I's influence that Emperor Wen established himself as an example of frugality and instituted benevolent policies in hopes of altering these

customs and practices.

Of the fifty-eight chapters of Chia I's New Writings, only fifty-six have survived. Although Pan Ku classified his works as Confucian, and some modern scholars, especially those from mainland China, classify him with the Legalists[91], a close examination of his thought reveals that his starting point and philosophical basis is Taoist, although his procedures are Confucian and his method of enforcement Legalist. To Chia I, Tao is the ontology of the myriad things, and the void is the essence of Tao. Tao, as the common link of all things, manifests itself through all things. So fine, so pervasive is it that it does not set any store by itself (i.e. it does not take any form). Its manner of manifesting itself is called the technique, which all things must abide by. To be in motion or to remain quiet is already determined by the nature or the properties of the things themselves. Therefore, to know the technique is to know the proper way of handling the nature of things.[92] From the above statements, one can trace Chia I's amalgamation of the philosophical Tao and the Legalist "technique". Void is not seen as a vacuous kind of emptiness, but rather as a spirited, undefined state of being, ever ready to take any shape or form. In the human realm, this void or Tao is the original nature of the human mind; the technique is the effect of Tao as manifested in human activities.

Through this concept of "technique," Taoism finds applications in the realm of Legalism. In politics, the "technique" is further developed into a system of reward and punishment that governs the behaviour of men, and submits them to the rule of a monarch. Although there certainly are elements of Legalist thought in Chia I, he also infuses much of the Confucianist approach into his Legalist "technique" for achieving an

ideal state and society. The Legalist element in Chia I can be found in his desire for firmness in enforcing both the proposed structure for central rule and a government based on a capable and morally sound bureaucracy. The Confucian element consists in his emphasis on learning, rites and ethics as vehicles to maintain an orderly society. But his final goal--an ideal society that fulfills the "creative purpose" of nature--is Taoist. His chapter on the "Technique of Tao" reviews his approach and clearly reveals his synthesis of the three major schools of thought:

> Someone asks, "The term 'Tao' had been heard on a number of occasions already and still its truth has not been known. Please, may I ask: the thing called Tao, what is it?"
> In reply, "The thing called 'Tao' is where you receive things from (or where you make connection with things). Its origin and basis is called 'Void'; the manifestation of its end products is called 'the technique.' We call it 'void' because what we are talking about is very fine, imperceptible essence, its being very ordinary and plain without any established form. 'The technique' is what things have to abide by; it is their own destiny to have either motion or stillness. All of the above are included in 'Tao.'
> Question: "Please, may I ask how the 'Void' connects with things?"
> Reply: "It exists in the manner of a mirror.[93] It does not hold onto anything and does not hide anything, yet any beauty or ugliness are completely presented, and everything obtains what it should. The weighing scale (beam balance) and the 'Void' have no private ends to serve. They remain quiet and peaceful and yet the lightness and heaviness of things are immediately shown, and everything obtains its proper place. (Likewise), the wise, understanding ruler merely sits properly facing south (i.e. occupying the highest seat of government in being the Son of Heaven), quietly abiding by the 'Void.' He enables the named to express themselves (i.e. to manifest their inherent natures) and asks (all) things to settle themselves, just like the response of a mirror and the balance of a weight scale. If things have movements he goes along with them, and if things have certain tendencies, he allows them to develop. Then things perform to the limits of

> their capabilities and he merely applies whatever is appropriate. This is how the 'Void' treats (all) things.
> Question: "Please, may I ask how the 'technique' connects with things?"
> Reply: "When the ruler is benevolent, all within the domain is in harmony. In so doing, none of his officials and subjects do not feel affinity (with one another). When the ruler is righteous all within the domain is in order. As a result, there is no one among his officials or subjects who will not listen to him. When the ruler abides by propriety, all within the domain is well-behaved. As a result, none of his subjects (officials and subjects) shows disrespect . . . . When the ruler abides by the law, all within the domain is smoothly regulated . . . .In raising the virtuous the people are transformed to goodness. In appointing the capable, all the official posts are well served . . . . This is the way the 'technique' is applied to things. As a principle it does not bend (i.e. it is straightforward), yet its response to changes is limitless. Therefore, the sage holds it high. The details of 'Tao' are beyond narration. . . .[94]

Chia I realized that 'Tao' was immense and all-pervading, and it was not his intention to elaborate all its details. In the human realm alone there remained much to be done. Nature or Tao had done its part in producing men with a vast range of inherent capabilities; within this range of capabilities, men were responsible to themselves rather than to heaven or Tao. Chia I emphasizes that it is the duty of man, not heaven, to establish a hierarchy of king and subjects, above and below, to ensure that father and son abide by propriety and to bring order among relatives. For in the human realm, if man does not act, no system of order can be established. Once a system has been established, it becomes stiff and rigid if it is not cultivated, and if it is not properly attended to, it falls into decay.[95] Chia I's grand scheme is dynamic, consisting of three levels; it is to the middle, human realm, that he directs most of his attention. If this level is properly developed, it grows or ascends to that of heaven or nature. However,

if men do not establish a proper, harmonious relationship among themselves, they downgrade themselves to the third level, in which they are bound by strict laws and regulations. He does not support Legalism for its own sake; however, when men neglect their responsibilities and society becomes chaotic, the Legalist approach is required as a remedy. He points out that that which has already occurred can be perceived, and that which has not yet occurred cannot; the effect of propriety is to prevent what is about to happen (i.e. prevent crime and undesirable behaviour) and the effect of law prevents that which has already happened from reoccurring (i.e. when a crime is committed and the law applied, it is hoped that no further similar crimes will occur again). It is an easy matter to apply legal proceedings, rather more difficult to cultivate propriety. If one governs with righteousness and propriety, righteousness and propriety will accumulate, but if one governs with law and punishments, law and punishments increase and the masses experience much grief and alienation; when righteousness and propriety accumulate, on the other hand, the people are in harmony with one another.[96] Thus he reveals the greater importance of propriety and righteousness over law and punishment.

The system of government Chia I conceived was intended to bring about a peaceful and harmonious society. In addition to the selection of capable, virtuous and responsible individuals to fill official posts, Chia I places much weight on the leadership of the ruler. Unlike the Legalists, Chia I does not wish the ruler to be authoritative and supreme; rather, the ruler should be of such sagely quality that he bases his will on that of the people, is just and fair in his management of the empire, and abides by the law. In fact, Chia I

places so much emphasis on the people that he rejects the idea that holding a government post entails that one is superior, and considers this to hold true even for the position of the ruler. In his upper chapter of "The Great Government", (大政上) he states:

> I have heard, regarding government, that there is no one who does not take the people as the basis for everything. The state relies on the people as its basis; the ruler relies on the people as his basis; the officials rely on the people as their basis. Therefore, the safety or destruction of the state depends on the people; the authority or lowliness of the ruler depends on the people; and the noble or base quality of the officials depends on the people. . . . The fate of the state depends on the people; the fate of the ruler depends on the people; and the fate of the officials depends on the people . . . .The people are the basis of all generations and cannot be cheated. Those occupying high positions who slight individuals of integrity and embitter their people (subjects) are regarded as stupid. Those who respect individuals of integrity and love their people are regarded as wise . . . .[97]

Under Chia I's scheme, there is a direct link and unity between the ruler and his people (subjects); the ruler identifies himself with the people. Chia I illustrates this by examples from the three dynasties of antiquity. He says that the Hsia occupied the seat of the Son of Heaven for over ten generations; the Shang occupied the seat of the Son of Heaven for over twenty generations, and the Chou occupied the seat for over thirty generations, but the Ch'in occupied that seat for only two generations and then came to ruin. Human nature from one era to another does not differ substantially; how does it come about that the three earlier dynasties endured so long while the Ch'in rule was so brief? The reason, for Chia I, lies in the fact that all of the former three abided by the Tao of governing, whereas the latter neglected the proper way.[98]

Chia I goes into further detail on the theme of bringing about long-lasting, peaceful government, by emphasizing capable, sagely leadership. He does not merely discuss the theoretical situation; rather, he refers to the contemporary state of affairs, consisting of a large state led by a hereditary ruler, and an officialdom, and attempts to apply his theory practically, to his own time. On the one hand he endeavoured to teach Emperor Wen to be a sagely king and on the other he wanted to ensure that since the Han throne was hereditary, the descendants of Emperor Wen would be trained to be sagely kings in the most favourable environment possible, in the hopes of establishing long-lasting peace. Chia I points out that the reign of the former three dynasties was so long because the heirs-apparent were properly trained from youth to rule virtuously and efficiently by the three Grand Consultants (三公) who attended to them and advised them from youth, citing, as a classic example, King Ch'eng of the Chou Dynasty (周成王).

When King Ch'eng was still an infant, the Duke of Ch'ao (召公) was appointed to be his Grand Guardian (太保), the Duke of Chou as Grand Tutor (太傅) and the Grand Master Wang (the Taoist National Master mentioned earlier, who assisted King Wu in founding the Chou dynasty) as his Grand Preceptor (太師) to take charge of his health and well-being, the development of his virtue and righteousness and the supervision of his education. With the aid of the three Grand Consultants, Chia I hoped that the heir-appareht would come to understand the true meaning of filial piety, benevolence, propriety, and righteousness. As he grew up, individuals with integrity, broad knowledge and a sound understanding of the Tao and its techniques would be selected from all over the empire to assist him. In this way, he would be so immersed

in a good environment that he would do only what was correct, just as a man born in the state of Ch'i could speak no dialect but that of Ch'i. When he reached adulthood the heir-apparent would be subject both to the scrutiny of the state historian who would record his deeds, and to the good commendations and recommendations of the various officials.[99] Chia I went even further in raising the issue of "teaching during conception" (胎教), quoting a historical writing which states that in antiquity when the queen was three months pregnant, the music she listened to had to be either ceremonial music or played by the Grand Preceptor on the zither lute for her,[100] and the food she ate had to be of the proper taste. Thus, when the Chou queen was pregnant with King Ch'eng, she stood without leaning to one side; when she laughed she did not laugh outlandishly. When she was angry she did not use scolding words.[101]

As seen in the above presentation, Chia I was very thorough in laying out a grand scheme for the Han government, for the upbringing of a ruler to the application of law, all for the benefit of the state and its subjects. On the surface, he seems to uphold the position of the supreme ruler advocated by the Legalists. However, in principle and in the actual workings of his system, the ruler is not authoritative but rather is subject to many limitations. The ruler's authority is delegated to his ministers, his teachers and his friends, and he must exercise his power within a political norm or framework, and be responsive to the will of the people, who are the basis of the entire political realm. Thus, the ruler cannot easily exert his own will in such a system.

In his chapter on "The Officials", Chia I classifies the official

class into six types. These six types are not classified according to rank or salary, but, rather, according to their personal achievements in the cultivation of character, their talents, and their ability in carrying out their roles and responsibilities. The first class is that of the great teachers, which includes the Grand Preceptors and Teachers to the State (e.g. Grand Master Wang), who must possess wisdom and knowledge like an ever-flowing fountainhead, and who must be of exemplary behaviour. In personality and cultivation they surpass the ruler; they need not have political power but the ruler must accord them respect and act as their student. The second class is that of "friends to the ruler" (e.g. the four elderly gentlemen from Mount Shang who assisted the young Emperor Hui, and Master Kai, who made recommendations to Prime Minister Ts'ao Shen—Master Kai played such a role althought Ts'ao Shen was not the emperor). These must possess enough knowledge to stimulate the ruler, to discuss matters with him and to make recommendations to him. They can be of assistance to the ruler because they are perceptive enough to promote the virtuous, and daring enough to request the dismissal of the worthless. This class is on a par with the ruler, as friends who take no political stand or office, and must be treated with courtesy and sincerity by the ruler. The third class includes the high ministers,whose knowledge and ability equips them to plan state affairs and to lead the people. They are required to mediate harmoniously between the high (the rulers) and the low (the petty officials and the common people). The fourth class includes the remonstrators and advisors who uphold proper conduct and seek to cultivate themselves. In their speech and action, they deceive no one at any level, whether at court or in their native

counties. They are permitted to draw the emperor's faults to his attention and hold their ground even under threat of death. The fifth class is that of the attendants, who are required to be loyal to the ruler, and greedy for neither wealth nor sensual delights. In times of difficulty, they must worry for their lord. The sixth and final class comprises the lowly servants who stoop to any degree in order to please the lord, with sweet words and insincere countenances, merely echoing the anger or joy of the lord, without expressing their true feelings.[102]

Although such a scheme seems to be centred on an absolute ruler, a close analysis reveals that the ruler is merely a pivot on which the entire machinery of government turns. In fact, the will to move a certain part of the machinery is transmitted to the ruler from the "Teachers to the State" and "Friends" to the ruler, who are either apolitical or outside the government entirely, and either above or at a par with the governing machinery. The ruler, as head of the government, after listening to the advice of his special teachers and friends (who are concerned with the well-being of the masses and the state) passes on those ideas to his ministers and attendants. Such a system will gradually lead to the unfolding of wu wei: the ruler need not take an active part in governing although everything is well done; Nonetheless, for such a system to function well, he must maintain a clear understanding and an impartial mind, without imposing his private desires on the government or the people.

Chia I remarks that those rulers who govern with the counsel of grand teachers and friends will become sagely kings and emperors; those who govern with the aid of capable high ministers become hegemons; those who govern with the help of advisors and remonstrators will estab-

list a strong nation; those who govern with the assistance of attendants render the state unstable, and finally, those who govern with the lowly servants can expect the imminent destruction of the state.[103] The dynastic history of China has proven Chia correct. Virtually all of the founders of the long-lasting dynasties had grand teachers and advisors to assist them, as in the early Chou and early Han. Those, like Duke Huan of Ch'i, the Ch'in and the T'ang, who had the aid of great ministers, did achieve hegemony or build a strong state. Those who governed with the assistance of attendants and lowly servants (e.g. eunuchs) only brought the country to ruin and rendered it subject to foreign invasion, as in the end of the Ming dynasty. Chia I does not claim that there are not capable individuals among these palace attendants and lowly servants; he merely classifies the different groups by the quality of their personalities and the depth of the insight and wisdom. It is interesting to notice here that the first two classes in Chia I's scheme are primarily Taoists, while the third and fourth classes consist for the most part of Confucianists and Legalists. In some cases, their positions overlap, or they hold different offices either simultaneously or at different times (e.g. Grand Master Wang and Chang Liang, who were regarded as military and state advisors as well as Teachers to the State). It is also interesting to note that some of these teachers and 'friends' are indeed outside of the bureaucratic structure, such as the four white-haired gentlemen from Mount Shang, as well as Master Kai; Chang Liang, also, retired early on the pretext of ill health. They have no rank (as noble rank differs from political rank), either living by their own means or by honoraria or gifts. As indicated in the Chuang Tzu, this class of individuals prefer to "drag

their tails in the mud" and prefer freedom to official positions. In the pre-Han period, most chief ministers of the different states were Legalists, while in the post-Han period, most were Confucianists.

Emperor Wen greatly appreciated Chia I's ideas, but he realized that they could not be abruptly carried out without causing unnecessary disturbance. His assignment of Chia I to the post of Grand Tutor to his beloved son demonstrated, on the one hand, that he realized the importance of the manner in which young kings were educated, and, on the other hand, his wisdom in separating Chia I from the controversy among the court officials, while awaiting an opportune moment to bring him back to court.

Although Chia I never ascended to a high position at court, due to the circumstance of the time, he did serve in the capacity of Teacher to the State. His political philosophy became the blueprint for the government structures of later rulers and ministers. Most of his proposals were eventually enacted by Emperors Ching and Wu, vindicating the correctness of his insight into the empire's problems and needs (e.g. in strengthening the central government and reducing the power of the feudal kingdoms). Under his influence, Emperor Wen performed many deeds worthy of a sagely king, such as cultivating humility and frugality, eliminating harsh rules and quietly disposing of the undesirable customs and practices carried over from the Ch'in. Chia I's great achievement lay in his degree of insight into his times, though unfortunately he was unaware of the danger of his situation at court, where he incited much hostility among the important ministers, and in his grand scheme for an efficient and stable government. For the sake of the unity and solidarity of the empire of his time, which

still faced a host of problems, he was, in this scheme, impelled to make the position of the ruler supreme; yet through moral principles, the wide-ranging capability of the ministers and remonstrators, and the objective, wise advice of the Teachers and Friends to the State, the absolute power of the ruler was quietly eroded.

The effect of Chia I's scheme was profound, throughout the entire Former Han dynasty. Unlike most of the later dynasties, in the Former Han, only men of virtue, talent and knowledge were appointed as important officials, prior to which the emperors themselves tested and challenged them with major issues. (Emperor Wu was a good example of this). There were no corrupt ministers to cater to nepotism or favoritism until the breakdown of the Former Han, and, after Chia I, no statesman produced a grand scheme comparable to his. Although great political thinkers, such as the Taoist advisors and Legalist statesman, did precede Chia I, none of their writings presented their thought as clearly and systematically as Chia I's did, although they knew what should be done for the state, and then acted upon it.

H. Ch'ao Ts'o (晁錯) (200-154 B.C.)

Ch'ao Ts'o was yet another bright young man born in the same year as Chia I: more of a pragmatist and a Legalist than a Taoist, he is included in this study because his policies closely resembled those of Chia I. He succeeded Chia I in the role of encouraging the emperor to implement the policy of establishing various smaller feudal lords in order to reduce their individual power (衆建諸侯而少其力). His overall state policy agreed with that of Chia I, but in implementation he adhered more to the adamant approach of the Legalists. Without a Taoist foundation, he encountered much heavier opposition from his colleagues than did Chia I, and although he did gain some favour with

the emperor, who also realized the need for the implementation of such a policy, he lost his life in the process. This was often the case with Legalists, who lacked an awareness of their own particular situations in their daily interactions with individuals of diverse interests and aims. Ch'ao Ts'o's demise, like that of most of the Legalists, was due to his blindness to his own situation: he perceived only the overall situation and not his own.

Ch'ao Ts'o hailed from Ying-ch'uan (潁川, in Honan Province), and he studied the teachings of Shen Pu-hai and Shang Yang (early Legalists) and hsing-ming with Master Chang Hui. He studied diligently and acquired learning in depth; as a result, he was recommended for the position of Custodian of Ceremonial Affairs. During his term of office he was selected to study the Book of Documents (尚書), a Confucian text, under Master Fu (伏生).[104] The study of the Book of Documents did not convert him into a Confucianist; instead, it enriched his knowledge of history. When Ch'ao returned, he submitted a report to the emperor on how to improve the government, which included quotations from the Book of Documents. Emperor Wen was highly pleased and promoted him to the position of steward of the heir-apparent, and soon after, he received the title of Erudite.[105] Greatly favoured by the heir apparent for his ability in dialectical argumentation, he was referred to as "Bag of Wisdom" within the house of the prince.[106]

Ch'ao repeatedly submitted memorials to Emperor Wen on the matter of reducing the territories of the feudal lords and revising the empire's laws. Although Emperor Wen did not heed them, he appreciated his ability and transferred him to the position of Palace Counsellor (中大夫). Ch'ao also had the support of the heir-apparent; although Yuan Ang and

other meritorious ministers disliked and opposed him.[107] Their opposition could in part have had some bearing on Emperor's Wen's disinclination to employ his suggestions. The emperor, however, by appointing him to the position of Palace Counsellor, was clearing the ground to allow Ch'ao greater scope of action at a more appropriate time.

When the heir-apparent ascended the throne as Emperor Ching, he appointed Ch'ao Ts'o as Prefect of the Capital, as he was aware of Ch'ao Ts'o's abilities. Ch'ao was granted frequent audiences with the emperor in order to discuss various matters, and was readily listened to. The favours bestowed on him by the emperor soon surpassed those bestowed on the important ministers, and many laws and regulations were revised in accordance with his counsel. However, Shen-t'u Chia (申屠嘉), the prime minister, resented him and ever sought opportunities to discredit him.[108] Before long, Ch'ao was promoted to the position of Imperial Secretary (御史大夫). He began to draw attention to the various crimes of the feudal lords and recommended that their territories be reduced in size and their subordinate provinces surrendered to the central government. The emperor organized a conference to discuss the matter and none of the important officials, except Tou Ying, the current prime minister who had succeeded Shen-t'u Chia, dared to argue with Ch'ao Ts'o. Sensing the urgency of his son's peril, Ch'ao's father visited the capital to plead with his son to abandon these strict and demanding measures, or disaster would fall upon the Ch'ao family. When Ch'ao did not heed his pleas, his father killed himself with poison, and ten days later, the states of Wu, Ch'u and five others joined in revolt, demanding Ch'ao Ts'o's execution. At the instigation of Yuang Ang and Tou Ying, the emperor acceded to the demand, and ordered that

Ch'ao Ts'o be executed in the eastern market of the capital,[109] in the belief that the revolt of the feudal lords would thereby be averted. However, when he discovered that the feudal lords had planned to revolt against the central government for some years, and their demand for Ch'ao's death was merely a ruse, he regretted his decision bitterly. After Ch'ao's execution, the seven states, headed by the king of Wu, revolted as planned, and the central government was compelled to dispatch large forces, led by the experienced senior officials and the Grand Commandant, to suppress them.

Both Chia I and Ch'ao Ts'o were, in their time, progressive thinkers. Their thought is complementary, and ought, therefore, to be studied together. While Chia I, as a theoretician, provided a philosophical framework and a grand scheme of government, Ch'ao Ts'o enacted the scheme and provided finer details for its implementation. Although their positions were not as prominent as those of the high-ranking, veteran, meritorious ministers, their ideas were well-appreciated by their emperors. Although circumstances forbade the quick acceptance and implementation of their ideas, their effect was nonetheless enduring. Their ideas for stabilizing the economy, promoting agriculture, and making preparations for the elimination of the ever-threatening Hsiung-nu, were carried out gradually and quietly by Emperors Wen, Ching and Wu, in internal as well as external state affairs.

Like Chia I, Ch'ao Ts'o believed that for a strong, unified state with a central government, the role of the ruler as supreme overseer was paramount, and the success or failure of the state would depend on his "technique" of governing. By "technique", Ch'ao meant the methods and strategies of rule, including methods for assigning ministers to

appropriate posts and adopting the most effective policies for given situations. He also saw the importance of training the heir-apparent to master the "technique of government, and express the full power of a ruler when he became emperor. In one of his memorials to Emperor Wen, he says:

> The reason those rulers could manifest their distinguished dignity and have their merits and fame held high for ten thousand generals was because they knew the governing techniques . . . . The former rulers who could not maintain their ancestral temples and were destroyed by their ministers did not know the techniques of governing. The books the heir-apparent had studied had been many; however, he had not come to know the governing techniques deeply . . . . I humbly wish that Your Majesty select the techniques of the sages that can be applied to the present generation so that they can be bestowed on the heir-apparent, and at appropriate times, allow the heir-apparent to analyse his understanding before you so that Your Majesty can make judgments and observations.[110]

Emperor Wen was highly pleased with Ch'ao's memorial, and to show his appreciation he appointed him household steward to the heir-apparent, in which position Ch'ao could act as the heir-apparent's counsellor. It is important to note that Ch'ao requested Emperor Wen to "select the techniques of the sages that can be applied to the present generation" instead of merely following the ways of the sages as such. That is, he advised a lively, practical understanding of the sages, rather than blind imitation, and advised a good understanding of the present, so that that knowledge could be applied to suit varying contemporary conditions.

Ch'ao Ts'o perceived very clearly the problems facing the country. The northern border regions were continually raided by the Hsiung-nu, and internally, on the one hand, the feudal lords were becoming unruly, and on the other hand, the discrepancy between the rich and the poor

was increasing. In his memorials to Emperor Wen, Ch'ao made many concrete proposals regarding the country's economy and the stance to be adopted towards the Hsiung-nu. His overall policy was an extension and concretion of Chia I's grand scheme. In his memorial on "valuing the Grains", he writes:

> When a sagely king is governing from above the people do not feel cold or hunger. It is not because he can cultivate grains and feed the people, weave cloth and clothe them, but because he develops a way to open up their resources for them . . . . When the people are poor evil and cunning deeds will arise. Poverty arises out of inadequacy, and inadequacy arises out of not doing agriculture. When people do not engage in agriculture, they do not settle down on the land and depart from their native lands and slight family life. Then the people are like birds and beasts; even though there are high castles and deep pools, strict laws and severe punishments, they cannot be stopped from departing. . . . Knowing this, the perceptive ruler therefore encourages the people to engage in agriculture and cultivate mulberry trees (for silk), reduces taxes and other levies, widens food and grain accumulation so as to fill the state storage (facilities) to prepare for floods and droughts . . . . As for pearls and jades, gold and silver, they cannot be eaten when one is hungry, cannot be worn when one is cold; however people place a high value on them. It is all because those who are above value them . . . . Grains and cloth grow from the earth, take time to ripen and cost labour to assemble. It cannot be accomplished in one day . . . . Therefore an understanding lord values the five grains and despises gold and jade.[111]

Ch'ao's practical proposal was to encourage the people to engage in agriculture by placing a high value and emphasis on grains. He proposed that those who submitted their extra grain to the government obtain noble ranks in return, or when in breach of the law, have their sentence commuted. In this way, the rich would have noble ranks, the peasants would have money (by selling their grains and growing more grains), and grains would be wisely distributed by the government. Then, the government could better afford to lower taxes and levies.

This method was called "decreasing the excessive and supplementing the inadequate."[112] When the government had abundant food supplies, some could be stored in the border regions to prepare against invasions, and its conciliatory policy could be abandoned. The main thrust of his memorial was that grain, so important to the ruler and government, should be considered the basis for all political undertakings.

Under the influence of Chia I and Ch'ao Ts'o, and in accordance with his own inclinations, Emperor Wen issued edicts to implement the proposal of granting noble ranks in return for the submission of grains to the government. At the same time, he reduced field taxes to half of the usual amount. The next year--167 B.C.--he eliminated all tax on cultivated fields.[113] Like his father, Emperor Ching also reduced taxes and encouraged agriculture.

Another important contribution made by Ch'ao Ts'o was in the renovation and preparation of the military in order to finally eliminate the Hsiung-nu threat. He and Chia I opposed the policy of appeasement favoured by most of the veteran ministers and suggested a positive program to improve the military so that the state would be well-defended. Both pointed out that dispatching court ladies, wealth and rich materials to the Hsiung-nu would never secure lasting peace. In his memorial on military affairs, Ch'ao Ts'o writes:

> In maneuvering troops on battlefronts, there are three requirements before any engagement. The first one is called securing an advantageous topography. The second one is called having the troops well-drilled and accustomed to warfare. The third is called using sharp and superior weapons . . . . Now that those barbarian tribes like the Yi Chu (義渠) who surrendered to the Hsiung-nu have befriended us, their number amounts to several thousand. Their habits and skills are the same as those of the Hsiung-nu. They can be given tough armour,

> padded clothing, strong bows and sharp arrows, reinforced with fine horses of the border regions, and then sent a capable general who understands their customs and is able to unite their hearts to command them in Your Majesty's name. They can be used to guard dangerous and difficult areas. Where there is flat land and clear passage, light infantry and chariots can take control. Then, the two armies (the Han and the defeated barbarian troops) can interact from inside and out, and employ their particular skills. In addition, we have multitudes of troops (ourselves.) This is called the all-safe technique . . . .[114]

Ch'ao Ts'o was well-versed in military affairs. It was he who first introduced the ingenious idea of using barbarians to fight barbarians. He was also the first to propose the strategy of establising military colonies in the border regions and moving peasants there to create long-term settlements, arguing that permanent settlements in the border areas could effectively replace the cumbersome system of stationing troops there year after year. Those willing to go would be granted numerous privileges: they would be given land, housing and tools; single men and women would be assisted in solving their marriage and financial difficulties, and all immigrants would be supplied with clothing and food until they acheived self-sufficiency.[115] For this, the government would require an adequate supply of stored grains; hence Ch'ao's suggestions, mentioned above, for the stimulation of agriculture.

The second stage was the organization and training of the immigrants. Families would be grouped in units of five, each unit headed by one officer who would be responsible for teaching his people military skills and tactics. The advantage of these colonies of immigrants was that since they would live together and become familiar with their own regions, they would be able to assist one another in times of

Hsiung-nu invasion. The safety of their parents and children, neighbours and friends, would depend on their own efforts and unity.[116] Compared to the policy of dispatching troops from a distance to aid an area in emergency, these colonies presented many advantages. They were both self-sufficient and capable of self-defense; on the one hand, they were effective forces in repelling the invasions of the Hsiung-nu, and on the other, they were not a heavy drain on the treasury. Ch'ao Ts'o's proposal opened up new avenues for military development in Chinese history. Not only did Emperors Wen and Ching welcome his ideas, but Emperor Wu, also, put them into practice on a large scale, and their effect endured until the T'ang dynasty.

At this point, it should be pointed out that the policies put forth by Chia I and Ch'ao Ts'o largely made possible the stable and prosperous governments of Emperors Wen and Ching, and the Han's firm foundation for agricultural and economic development. Although their effect was not highly noticeable during their own lifetimes, their policies were implemented and bore fruit long after their deaths.

CHAPTER VI

GOVERNMENT POLICY AND PHILOSOPHY

It was in the early Han that Taoism made its greatest impact on the government and on the people. As both a philosophy and a principle of government, Taoism was very appealing to the ruling class, and as a way of life it was highly attractive to the masses. The metaphysical and cosmological bent of pre-Ch'in times re-emerged in the intellectual world as well as in the folk tradition of the Han, but there was a major difference: in pre-Ch'in times, the various schools of thought had been clearly distinct from one another, whereas in the Former Han there was a syncretic tendency among thinkers, who frequently assimilated ideas from two or three schools of thought in formulating their own systems. In the early years of the Former Han, from the time of Emperor Kao Tsu to that of Emperor Ching, the greatest attention was given to Taoist ideas, to which Legalist and Confucian ideas were subordinated. In the latter part of the Former Han, however, after the accession of Emperor Wu-ti, Confucian ideas predominated, and Legalist and Taoist ideas were in turn subordinated to them. One thing was evident throughout the Former Han: individuals from all strata of society were concerned with the interaction between heaven and man, although with differing levels of understanding, and to differing degrees. The Yin-yang principle and the concept of the Five Elements (wu-hsing, 五行, namely: metal, wood, water, fire and earth) permeated every field of thought, whether in government, economy, human behaviour or agriculture. Even the conservative Confucianists could not help but incorporate the Yin-yang principle and the Five Elements into their body of thought.

The highly respected Han scholar, Tung Chung-shu (董仲舒) was a prime example.

Although Legalist doctrines never again played a leading role in political philosophy after the Ch'in (i.e. the ideal of the Son of Heaven, a sagely and kingly ruler as proposed by the Confucianists and Taoists as a means of bringing about cosmic harmony), they were indispensable in providing a framework and techniques for government. In practice, they were severe and uncompromising, but in principle, and in their aim of attaining wu wei, they were not all that far from Taoism and Confucianism. Thus, Legalism ever served as a fine supplement to a Confucian or Taoist government, and it must be remembered that the Legalist school was, originally, an offspring of both the Confucian school, particularly that of Hsün Tzu, and the Taoist Huang-Lao school. From the higher level of the philosophy and idealism of Taoist and Confucian thought, Legalism extrapolated and instantiated a more concrete, lower level, comprising techniques for actual government administration. In the pre-Ch'in period, the relationship between Taoism and Legalism was apparent in the influence of Lao Tzu on Han Fei Tzu and Lü Pu-wei (呂不韋). A similar pattern could be seen in the gradual shift of interest towards methods of governing in Chang Liang and Ts'o Shen, Chia I and Ch'ao Ts'o. In the times of Chang and Ts'o, emphasis was placed on a quiescent government within a Ch'in Legalist structure, whereas those of Chia and Ch'ao saw a shift towards firmer, stronger measures, necessitated by the feudal overlords' threats of rebellion. Nevertheless, even then the ultimate aim was a peaceful, harmonious government; rulers believed, however, that the social and politcial conditions of the country required stablilization before

attention could be directed to the achieving of wu wei. Huang-Lao teachings advised that man should extend his cultivation of mind and body to the realm of government and politics, to ensure the universality of Tao. Only if one bears this in mind can one fully understand the early Chinese thinkers, and the motivation of the early statesmen, in this case those of the Han, in advocating the governing policies they did.

It is well known that the government of the early Han practiced the philosophy of wu wei. One might wonder why, and under what circumstances, it was the early Han in particular which adopted that philosophy, and in what manner it was effected. The primary reason for this historical phenomenon lies neither with the Han's emperors, nor with its ministers, both of whom were merely the media through which the Taoist Huang-Lao political philosophy found expression. Rather, it lies primarily with the prevailing circumstances of the era, 勢, in general, and the desires of the people themselves, who, after years of war, devastation, and the repressive rule of the Ch'in, were weary of the demands made on them by government. They could neither meet the tax exactions nor the manpower requirements of government corvée labour; the overriding mood was one of a longing for rest and recuperation. Most ministers and followers of Liu Pang originated from the peasant class, and thus knew what it was to be a peasant; in addition, they had experienced the harsh Ch'in rule and the drawn-out war between Liu and Hsiang Yü, and were thus in accord with the wishes of the people. Furthermore, Taoist notions of tranquility, good health, longevity and the search for immortality had, since Ch'in times, filtered throughout the empire. Now that the empire had been unified, the

tyrannical Ch'in overthrown, and a new emperor (Liu Pang) with a reputation for generosity and fairness installed, the masses were eager for a new government that would at long last enable them to lead peaceful lives. Liu Pang and his ministers, receptive to these desires, took the proper steps to meet their demands.

The Taoist ideal of wu wei, or refrainment from inappropriate action, was considered the best philosophy and policy for the new government; hence, the rulers merely did what was necessary for the continued operation of the government machinery inherited from the Ch'in without tinkering with it unncessarily. They extracted the essentials of the existing machinery, and discarded its minor or trivial elements; of prime importance was non-interference with the people, which would allow the country to recover and attain prosperity once more. Wu wei was the means and wu pu wei ("nothing is left undone") the goal. The second stage was the consolidation of the government's position in order to stabilize and render the empire peaceful, since these were the prerequisites for the Taoist pursuit of self-fulfillment. Thus, all the early Han rulers from Liu Pang to Emperor Ching sought to follow such a policy, with only minor disruptions. Close examination of the overall governing policies of successive rulers reveals that this policy became increasingly refined and concrete as each in turn attempted to cope with the changing political conditions. With this end, the different steps and policies adopted within the overall Huang-Lao scheme from the inception of the Han to the reign of Emperor Ching will now be considered.

When Liu Pang entered the Ch'in capital, he immediately made his intentions and his governmental policies clear to the masses, to alleviate

their concern. He declared:

> . . . . You people have suffered long enough from the harsh laws of the Ch'in . . . . I am going to make an agreement with you, Fathers and Elders, upon a code of law in three articles: he who kills will be punished by death; he who harms others or steals will be punished according to his offence; for all the rest, I am abolishing all the laws of the Ch'in. All of you people and the officials should be calm and undisturbed as before . . . . I have not come to exploit or to tyrannize you . . . .[1]

Such simple laws were not difficult to obey, and the masses were highly relieved since they would now be protected by the government without being bound by overly restrictive regulations, and were now, in the main, left to their own activities.

When he had unified the country, Liu Pang was offered the role of emperor, and Shu-sun T'ung (叔孫通) was invited to organize and prepare titles for the ceremony. Again, Liu Pang discarded all the elaborate and exacting rituals of the Ch'in and simplified court protocol.[2] This revealed Liu Pang's desire for simplicity and ease in all political affairs, as far as was possible. When an occasion demanded change, he implemented it, but he did not permit unnecessary change. This attitude is demonstrated in his allowing Shu-sun T'ung to formulate appropriate court rituals after he witnessed the rude and uncontrolled behaviour of his followers and ministers at court. After the necessary court ceremonies were established to uphold the dignity and solemnity of the court, all were well-behaved.[3]

It was not only the rulers who favoured quiescent governing; the important ministers were even more eager to uphold the philosophy of governing simply. Prime ministers Hsiao Ho and Ts'ao Shen provide good illustrations of this. Hsiao Ho adopted the Ch'in governmental structure for the Han but he simplified and reduced its laws and regu-

lations as far as he deemed necessary.[4] When Ts'ao Shen took office, he followed the same policy, although he made no changes at all, but merely ensured that state affairs were properly conducted.[5] The Han government, though an adaptation of the Legalist-designed Ch'in system, should not itself be considered Legalist. True, many of its practices bore the imprint of Legalism, but the overriding Taoist spirit and motivation of its implementation should not be overlooked. This Taoist spirit was prevalent from Liu Pang's reign to that of Emperor Ching, as revealed by the edicts of the rulers themselves, as well as the memorials of the ministers as presented above. The rulers and administrators realized that if the masses were controlled with harsh laws and punishments the only result would be a proliferation of the crimes and rebellions they were intended to suppress. The Ch'in was a valuable lesson; the leaders of the Han attempted to solve their problems not through suppression, but, rather, by attacking their sources: first, by allowing the people rest and freedom of activity, in order that they would regain their means of livelihood, and second, by attempting to guide the masses by providing virtuous models for their behaviour. Thus Emperor Hui was lauded for his piety; Emperor Wen for his benevolence and frugality. Piety and diligence were encouraged throughout the empire: those who exemplified these qualities were selected, recommended and honoured by the government with gifts or with ranks or official appointments. In this way, good behaviour was elicited from the people and thus the need for laws and punishments was greatly reduced--thus problems were uprooted at their source, and thereby overcome. As mentioned earlier, there were, during the time of Emperor Wen, only four hundred criminal cases

throughout the empire; hence the conviction of the Han that when the people's lives were as they should be, law was no longer required.

Within the overall Huang-Lao wu wei policy were specifically delineated methods for coping with change, such as the reinstitution of a feudal order and its gradual elimination when its purpose was served. At the inception of the Han, it was of prime importance that the empire should remain intact while central rule was consolidated. The early ministers concurred in the belief that all under heaven constituted one large family, united within the four seas—an idea which had been taking shape since the Warring States period. The ideal would have been shattered had the various feudal lords and generals broken away and established their own states, and thus heralded a return to the strife of the Warring States period. The temporary return to the feudal system was, consequently, a necessary transition to central rule: Liu Pang's enfeoffment of members of the Liu family and of the marquises was a strategy to achieve greater unity under one absolute ruler. Both his ultimate aim and the nature of his feudal system differed from those of the early Chou. In fact, the feudal system of the Han was, from the outset, intended to be as brief as possible—the central government was determined to maintain absolute control, and was not about to permit any resurgence of feudal supremacy. Though the feudal lords were enfeoffed with land and titles, they had, at least in theory, no political power. All chancellors of the various feudal states were appointed by the central government, and inspectors were dispatched to examine the conditions in each state. Ts'ao Shen, for example, was assigned to the state of Ch'i as chancellor, before he was summoned to court as prime minister. A marquisate,

also, was not a political entity at all: a marquis was given no authority to rule; he was merely granted land and households for his support. Instead, prefects or magistrates were appointed by the central government to administer the state.

Liu Pang's motivation in enfeoffing the members of the Liu family was to fill the vacuum created when the non-Liu feudal lords were removed on suspicion of fomenting rebellion. When emperors Wen and Ching ascended to power, they maintained the practice of enfeoffing their sons, in this case with the intention of weakening the older, established enfeoffments so as to fortify their own imperial positions. Han Wu-ti also sought the approval of the high ministers to enfeoff his sons, with the intention of reinforcing and maintaining the absolute status of the emperor, because the feudal lords had, by this time, already been weakened to the degree that they could no longer defy the central government with impunity. Such a trend set a precedent for later emperors, who, whenever they felt their positions imperilled, mustered all authority for themselves, without delegating it to their prime ministers or imperial secretaries.

From Liu Pang's reign to those of emperors Wen and Ching, the overarching wu wei philosophy of government was preserved. Emperor Ching's reign, however, witnessed a gradual shift in philosophy, and when Emperor Wu (Han Wu-ti) came to power, the transition from a quiescent laissez-faire government, to a more active one, became increasingly apparent. Emperors Hui, Wen and Ching supported the laissez-faire policy with alacrity; they respected the positions of the prime ministers and the imperial secretaries who made all necessary recommendations for the proper administration of the country. Lacking Emperor Wu's ambition,

they sought to strengthen their positions, and that of the central government, not with the intention of augmenting their own personal ascendancy, but rather with the aim of upholding the idealistic philosophy of the "Son of Heaven," which, with its Taoistic guiding principle of wu wei, was concerned with caring for and benefitting mankind. Emperors Hui, Wen and Ching complied with what was proper and correct as far as possible in order to enhance the peace and prosperity of the empire, and whenever there developed events that were not in keeping with that philosophy, they heeded the advice of their important ministers as to their amelioration. This was not the case with Emperor Wu; the change in attitude made its initial appearance, however, in the reign of Emperor Ching.

Emperor Wu acted out of personal ambition and a desire for autocracy rather than out of deep concern for the masses, only realizing his error in his old age. Although he occupied the seat of "Son of Heaven", and abided by the Feng and Shan ceremonial sacrifices (封禪),[6] as was proper, he did not seriously attempt to fulfill the moral responsibilities required of a "Son of Heaven", acting, on the contrary, more according to his own whims. He began to abridge the power vested in the exalted prime ministers and imperial secretaries, whose duties included remonstrating the ministers and the emperor whenever a lapse presented itself to view. Had he himself not been a capable sovereign, the foundation established for the Han by previous emperors might well have been undermined entirely. The policy of weakening the positions of the existing large feudal kingdoms by splitting them up and enfeoffing, in their stead, a greater number of lesser feudal lords (衆建諸侯而少其力), which was established by Emperor Wen and taken up by Emperor Ching,

found its consummation in Han Wu-ti's reign. This policy, which, as mentioned earlier, marked the transition from wu wei to non-wu wei government, and which was recommended to Emperor Wen by Chia I and later by Ch'ao Ts'o to Emperor Ching, was a necessary measure in curbing the unruliness and the growing power of the feudal kingdoms, which consequently posed a threat to the unity of the empire. However, Wu-ti took advantage of his consolidated power to satisfy his own desires only; hence his selective preference for the aspects of Confucianism that suited him. The Taoist philosophy of wu wei and the Legalist system of a prime minister and imperial secretaries who were entrusted with the responsibility of counselling and correcting the ruler, were not entirely agreeable to his own ambitions and were soon left far behind. Under his authority, the Confucian scholars and ministers began to churn out a "special" brand of Confucianism--imperialistic Confucianism. The democratic element introduced by Mencius, according to whom the people have the highest value, the state is next in value, and the ruling lord is insignificant, 民為貴社稷次之君為輕, was, not surprisingly, eliminated; in its place, loyalty and respect to an imperial order, for the greater unity and strength of the country, was inculcated. Therefore, Wu-ti's reign marked the transition of governing policy and institutions from Legalist Taoism to Legalist Confucianism.

At the inception of the Han dynasty, the political, social and economic situation precipitated the need for a Taoist Huang-Lao policy of governing. The Taoist ministers formulated, recommended and transmitted to different levels this guiding philosophy. To deal with prevailing situations, they were required to translate the subtle principle of Taoism into practicable forms. Lu Chia, an account of whom is

is given in the previous chapter, was the first minister to propose and describe the wu wei philosophy of government at the outset of the Han. Hsaio Ho structured the government, which was then maintained by Ts'ao Shen in true wu wei spirit, to which the emperors lent their approval and assistance, issuing imperial decrees to incorporate into law the policies formulated on the basis of that guiding philosophy. Regarding the governing of wu wei, Lu Chia writes in his New Discourses, 新語 ,:

> In Tao, there is nothing greater than wu wei. In behaviour, there is nothing greater than care and respect. How is it explained? In antiquity, Sage Emperors Yü and Shun (虞舜), when governing all under heaven, just plucked their five-stringed lutes and sang the poetic songs of the southern winds. They were quiet, as though they had no intention of governing the country, and were indifferent, as though they did not have the heart to worry for the people; yet all under heaven was well governed . . . .[7] Therefore, when a gentleman practices the art of governing, he is quiet and peaceful as if there is no sound. The government offices are as if no officials are running them. The districts and hamlets are as if no people are there. Neighbours never quarrel in the lanes, and the young and aged never worry in their courtyards . . . . Dogs do not bark at night and birds do not chirp in the evening. Old people rest in the main halls and the strong adults cultivate food in the fields . . . .[8]

Not only was Liu Pang influenced by Lu Chia, but the other ministers, as well as emperors Hui, Wen and Ching, also adhered, in varying degrees, to this general guideline for government. In concrete terms, laws were simplified and leniently enforced, and the people left undisturbed as far as possible. Taxes and corvée labour were reduced, or abolished outright, and a frugal and benevolent government encouraged, as discussed in an earlier chapter.

During the reigns of emperors Wen and Ching, changes in the econ-

omy and the political situation necessitated that the Taoist governing policy be further translated into more specific terms and modified to meet the demands of the time. Emperor Wen upheld the Taoist principle, and Chia I offered advice on dealing with pressing state matters; his main concern was with settling the common people and enabling them to live in peace, as he believed that people ought to be the basis for everything. A ruler was merely an overseer whose responsibility was to promote conditions favourable to the people's livelihood; he was not an autocrat who oppressed and manipulated others. Pointing to the harsh rule of the Ch'in as an example of a reign that was short-lived, Chia I proposed that since the failure of the Ch'in rule lay in its restrictiveness and its excessive interference in the affairs of the people, the proper way to rule was to leave the people undisturbed, to enable them, in peace and stability, to develop themselves and in turn develop the country. A long-lasting reign could be assured if emphasis was placed on the manner in which the people were governed. Therefore, in his essay "On Counting the Faults of Ch'in", he writes:

> . . . .Thus the former sagely kings, upon seeing the alterations of beginning and end, and knowing the causes of survival and destruction, thereupon herded (governed as though herding sheep) the people with the Tao (the proper way). Their main intent was to settle the people in peace. . . . Therefore, when a gentleman is about to act upon a country, he observes the events of high antiquity, tests them (i.e. tests the way of handling the events) upon his contemporary world, adds onto them human effort, examines the principles of their rise and fall, determines the proper actions to be taken upon significant situations, follows the proper order of elimination and acquisition, and changes according to the time. In so doing, the bright sun shines for a long time and the country is at peace.[9]

To Chia I, a country's existence is dependent on its people, while the peace and stability of the people's lives depend in turn on the solidarity and security of the country, which, in the time of Chia I, rested on the strength and well-being of the central government. Therefore, Chia I expected that the Han emperor would, like the ancient sagely kings, govern by example, with the wisdom and skill to respond to pressing situations and to solidify both the central government and the position of the sagely "Son of Heaven", and thus prevent the feudal kingdoms from arrogating the central authority and throwing the country once more into disorder. In Chia I's time, the principle of wu wei was understood to entail, not a thoroughgoing laissez-faire policy, but rather the taking of action according to the requirements of the situation, in keeping with Huang-Lao Taoism. In his memorials to Emperor Wen, he expatiated on the importance of promoting agriculture to provide food and security to the country, of selecting capable and responsible individuals as officials, and of curbing feudal power, which was posing a threat to central authority. In his chapter on "The Strong Feudal Kingdoms," Chia I proposes an effective policy for overcoming the problem of growing feudal power:

> . . . . If all under heaven is to be governed in peace and the Son of Heaven is to have no worries, there is nothing better than establishing a multitude of feudal lords to weaken their power. When their power is small, it is easy to direct them with righteousness. When their kingdoms are small, they do not have ambitious minds.[10]

Emperor Wen appreciated Chia I's talent in state matters and heeded most of his advice; hence his edicts on agriculture, the reduction of taxes, and the selection of, from among the people, individuals of integrity and piety to fill government posts. He even established himself as an example of a frugal and benevolent ruler to "herd" his

people.

However, Chia I's proposal to curb the growing power of the feudal lords was not fully enacted until the reigns of emperors Ching and Wu. It was not without reason that Emperor Wen held this policy for the most part in abeyance: first, Chia I's proposals invited the opposition of the other ministers at court; second, the weakened central government was only just on the mend from the Lü family's usurpation of imperial power; third, the feudal lords were powerful indeed and could not be antagonized abruptly; fourth, the emperor was more concerned with maintaining civil peace and further stabilizing the country. So long as the feudal lords were not ungovernable, he intended to approach the problem with caution and discretion, rather than openly announce his intention of establishing many feudal domains within the larger feudal kingdoms (衆建諸侯而少其力). This policy included a self-perpetuating mechanism, whereby the feudal kingdoms would be gradually weakened and eventually eliminated altogether; after a few generations of repeated division, the feudal kingdoms would go out of existence entirely. Emperor Wen's quiet implementation of this plan was evident in his enfeoffment of the four sons of the King of Huai Nan, Liu Ch'ang (淮南王劉長), as marquises (not kings) within Liu Chiang's feudal domain, which he delayed a full year and a half after Liu Ch'ang's attempted rebellion and consequent suicide.[11]

Emperor Wen was one of the few emperors with a sincere concern for the masses, as reflected in his decrees issued to lighten laws and regulations, eliminate corporal punishment and stimulate agriculture. Although he had a benevolent mind himself, he was further assisted by

the recommendations of Chia I, Ch'ao Ts'o and other ministers in formulating concrete policies for the public weal. The policy of encouraging agriculture in order to provide adequate food for the people, as well as a solid base for the country, both economically and otherwise, was reiterated by Chia I in his memorial on Accumulating Food Storage:

> . . . .I have never heard, from antiquity to the present, that people can be governed when the necessities of life (i.e. food and clothing) are inadequate . . . . The present situation is alienating the main trunk and heading towards the branches. Those who consume (without contributing their share of food cultivation) are many. This is the great problem facing the country . . . . The Han has already been established for over forty years now, yet what both the government and the private sector have accumulated is lamentingly little. When the timely rain doesn't come, people are helpless. In a year of bad harvest, people have to sell their noble ranks and even their sons . . . . How can the ruler above not be alarmed?[12]

Thus, Emperor Wen saw to it that agriculture and silk weaving were adequately attended to and the state granaries were gradually replenished, until finally the stores even began to decay.

After Chia I's passing, Ch'ao Ts'o enlarged upon all of his predecessor's political and economic policies. His economic policy was aimed at the problem of the wealthy landowners and merchants: essentially, his policy sought to reduce the "unproductive" class and support the peasant class by developing agriculture and placing value on grains. In his memorial on Valuing Grain (論貴粟疏), he pointed out that what the average peasant gained from cultivating his fields could hardly meet the expenditures he incurred. In hard times, peasants were driven to selling their fields, houses and children in order to meet their financial commitments. The merchants, on the other hand, who worked only at manipulating commodities, without participating in food cultivation or weaving, consumed the choicest of food and wore

the most sumptuous of clothing. Even though the merchant class had been stigmatized since the outset of the Han, it became rich and influential all the same, while the peasants remained impoverished despite their elevated status.[13] Ch'ao Ts'o was sensitive to the problem: the method he proposed was to make grain a valued commodity. Those who submitted their grain to the government would either be granted noble rank or have their criminal sentences commuted, if that was required. In this way, the government would, first, have enough grain in storage for the defence of its borders and to relieve the peasants in times of bad harvest or natural disaster; second, since it would be the rich who would submit the most grain in exchange for noble rank, the tax burden of the poor would be lessened; third, the stimulated agricultural activity of the people would prove extremely beneficial to the country as a whole.[14] Ch'ao Ts'o's policy was readily adopted by Emperor Wen, and later taken up by Emperor Ching, and their motions in this direction prepared a strong economic base on which Emperor Wu was enabled to undertake large scale campaigns against the Hsiung-nu.

Regarding the empire's external policy towards the Hsiung-nu, Ch'ao Ts'o had definite proposals as well. He concurred with Chia I in opposing the conciliatory policy advocated by conservative ministers. He realized that marrying off Han princesses and dispatching substantial gifts of goods and food to the Hsiung-nu would never secure lasting peace for the Han. More positive steps were required. His main proposal was to strengthen the border areas in defence and in preparation for possible war with the Hsiung-nu; this included mobilizing the peasants along the border regions, encouraging immigrants to settle

there, and organizing the people into self-sufficient and cooperative military colonies.[15] Emperor Wen was highly pleased with these recommendations and implemented each of them as soon as he was able.

Like his predecessor Chia I, Ch'ao Ts'o perceived that the increasing power of the feudal kingdoms posed a threat to the Han court. By Emperor Ching's reign, the danger had become even more acute. However closely related the feudal kings were to the Han court, they would sooner or later rebel; it was simply a matter of the right time and the right pretext. King Liu Pi of Wu (吳王劉濞) was the most powerful and ambitious of the feudal kings.[16] Ch'ao Ts'o, therefore, on several occasions submitted memorials to Emperor Ching suggesting that he diminish the strength of the feudal kings and marquises by reducing their territories in size, pointing out: "Now if you cut them down, they will rebel. If you don't cut them down, they will also rebel. If you cut them down now their rebellion will come quickly, but the calamity will be small. If you don't cut them down now, their rebellion will come later, but the calamity will be enormous."[17] Emperor Ching agreed with his analysis; however, he hesitated to act immediately in view of the opposition of the other ministers. After a court debate, Emperor Ching made the final decision to cut down the territories of the feudal kings. As predicted by Ch'ao Ts'o, all seven feudal kings promptly rose in rebellion, and Ch'ao Ts'o fell victim to an intrigue plotted by a high minister and sponsored by King Liu of Wu.

The revolt of the seven feudal states proved that Chia I and Ch'ao Ts'o had been correct in their analyses. Aware of his inexperience in dealing with his ministers, Emperor Ching mourned the loss of Ch'ao Ts'o. The insurrection taught Emperor Ching the necessity

of exerting greater authority over the feudal lords and to further delimit their political power. The administration of the feudal states, also, was placed under the direct control of the central Han government. Under Emperor Wu this policy of diminishing the territories of feudal states was extended further to become the policy of "extending benevolence" (推恩). That is, in addition to transmitting the progenital line of succession through the eldest sons, the feudal lords were required to subdivide their land and property to enfeoff their younger sons as well. Ostensibly, it seemed as if the emperor was so considerate that he bestowed his benevolence even on the sons and brothers of the feudal lords, while in actuality, he was dividing and further weakening the territories and power of the existing feudal states. Furthermore, he confiscated the ranks and enfeoffments of the feudal lords whom he found guilty of petty offences or of breaching their code of conduct.[18]

A radical break with the philosophy of wu wei was effected by Emperor Wu when he adopted more restrictive policies for the control not merely of the feudal lords, but of the economy as well. Salt trading, iron mining and minting became exclusively state dominated, and, later, the country's economy was further brought under state control by policies of "equally standards" (平準), "balancing distribution" (均輸), "taxing excessive profits and property" (算緡), and "reporting on undeclared profits and property" (告緡).[19]

Although some modifications to changing situations were necessary, the Huang-Lao wu wei policy was more or less consistently adhered to from the beginning of the Han to the reign of Emperor Wu. The prime objective was the revival of the economy and the people's livelihood, and the centralization of government. The following chart is intended

to delineate the progressive states of development of the early Han's directive policy and to show the gradual break from that policy made by Emperor Wu.

Table 1

Reigns and Ministers	Huang-Lao Wu Wei Philosophy of Government as the Main Directive	
Kao Tsu (through Emperor Hui Hsiao Ho, Ts'o Empress Lü Shen, Ch'en P'ing)	Consolidation of Central Govt. Laissez-Faire Govt. and Economy	
Emperor Wen and Emperor Ching (through Chia I and Ch'ao Ts'o)	Encourage Agriculture De-emphasize commerce.	Promotion of the pious & diligent and Recommendation of people of virtue, ability & integrity.
	Putting value on grains.	Establishing numerous feudal lords so as to weaken their strength.
	Strengthening of the border regions.	Cutting down the territories & power of the feudal kings.
Emperor Wu (through himself, Tung Chung-shu and Kung-sun Hung)	Equalling standards, Balancing distribution, taxing excessive profit and property, Reporting on Undeclared profit and property, monopoly of iron and salt.	Extending benevolence to sons and brothers of feudal lords.
	Expeditions to expel the threat of the Hsiung-nu.	Recommendation of the learned and virtuous.

The various policies adopted in the early Han under the aegis of wu wei philosophy were required in order to confront a wide variety of problems. During the first twenty-odd years of the Han, a laissez-faire type of government and economy was the most appropriate since it would best stimulate the country's recovery from destitution. In the reigns of emperors Wen and Ching, on the other hand, modifications to the basic wu wei policy were necessary in order to promote the solidarity of the central government and of the country as a whole. The policies and schemes recommended by Chia I and Ch'ao Ts'o proved the most effective. Because their proposals were implemented, albeit gradually, the economic prosperity of the country and the consolidation of the central government were achieved and as a result, the strength and grandeur of the Former Han displayed itself fully.

The Han had, in fact, inherited the Ch'in's governing system, which was Legalist in flesh and bone. Why then did the Han succeed where the Ch'in failed? The crux of the difference lay not in their governing structures but in the spirit and philosophy of their implementation. By devising a tight and efficient governing structure the Ch'in aimed at controlling and exploiting the people; in other words, it aimed at totalitarian rule to satisfy the whims and ambitions of the ruler, who merely desired the subjugation of all and sundry to his command and his service. He did not have to do much, indeed, simply because everything he desired was done for him by his subordinates; that was the type of wu wei government devised and advocated by Legallists like Li Ssu. With such an ultimate aim, the Ch'in could not endure long, despite the efficiency of its system of government.

The success of the Han stems, of course, from a number of factors, but the most important was the ability of its rulers to hold fast to the Taoist wu wei directive, with the wider aim of fulfilling universal harmony through long lasting rule within the empire ("all under heaven"). The Taoist ministers and rulers, as exemplified by Emperors Hui and Wen, did uphold the high ideal of achieving enduring peace and harmony for the betterment of the people and the country. Emperor Wen aspired to fulfill the role of a sagely king, to be a true "Son of Heaven" who ruled, not to dominate, but to direct "those below" to attain a higher level of existence than that of a miserable struggle for sustenance. He took action only as circumstances demanded it. The government structure inherited from the Ch'in was a convenient and effective tool for the emperors in materializing their aims. Wu wei did not signify passive inertia; it implied, rather, the proper use and improvement of the tools available. Kuo Hsiang, a Taoist thinker of the fourth century A.D., presents a clear exposition of wu wei in a ruler:

> Now, the carpenter is performing "non-action" (wu wei) in chopping a tree; his action lies in using an axe. The ruler is performing "non-action" in managing affairs personally; his action lies in using ministers. It is the ability of ministers to manage affairs and it is the ability of a ruler to use ministers. An axe can be used to chop a tree and the carpenter is able to use it. When all things are properly performing according to their ability, it is a natural and spontaneous manifestation of heavenly principles; it is not taking action. If, to change the example, a ruler manages affairs in the place of his ministers, he is no longer a ruler, and if ministers take over a ruler's power, then they are no longer ministers. Therefore, if each performs his own function, then those above and those below will all find fulfillment, and (in doing so) the principle of "non-action" (wu wei) will be accomplished.[20]

The Legalist wu wei was, in principle, not much different from the above exposition. The major difference between the Taoist wu wei

and the Legalist wu wei lies in their final state of attainment. The Legalist aim was "for itself" (i.e. the ruler) only, whereas the Taoist aim was both "for itself" and "for others", and thus led to peaceful harmony. Although it encountered difficulties and interruptions, the Han government did indeed earnestly strive to attain such a goal. It was not without reason that the Han ruled for over four hundred years.

Because of its simple and effective rule[21] all subsequent dynasties modelled themselves with appropriate modifications on the Han structure. Professor Lao-kan makes an important and pertinent point regarding the early Han government:

> One of the most important features of the Han system was the delegation of high authority to the chancellor, an institution which was formed perhaps by accidental historical circumstance but brought over sixty years of peace and prosperity to the people. This institution was not identical with the responsible cabinet of the West but there are functional similarities. The trouble was that the Chinese system was at best a customary law. The emperor, being the highest lawmaker and law-breaker, was always to exercise his power. Under emperors Wen and Ching, who favoured in general a laissez-faire policy, this custom was maintained. Han Wu-ti, who believed in a different political philosophy, however, made it impossible for this institution to continue.[22]

The ruler's delegation of power to the chancellors and ministers who manage state affairs is the functioning of wu wei in a ruler, pure and simple. Given such rulers as emperors Wen and Ching who were relatively pure at heart and motivated by high ideals, this institution of delegating authority to ministers held much promise. But under emperors with a totalitarion inclination, power struggles and court intrigues among ministers and rulers could be the only result of delegation, as proven by numerous cases in later dynasties. In sum, it is the adherence to Taoist philosophy by a ruler or governing agent that ensures an enduring reign, whether it be that of a ruler or that of government machinery in general.

CHAPTER VII

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

History is the unfolding of a process in which mankind struggles with his environment and with himself with the aim of achieving happiness and freedom. A prerequisite for happiness and freedom is the economic and spiritual independence of the individual. If man lacks either, his struggle is a bitter and painful one. Since man does not live alone on earth, his independence is, to a large extent, affected by his fellows: it is necessary then, to achieve whatever economic system and social conditions best maximize man's opportunity to attain economic and spiritual independence. As the Marxist view would have it, feudalism is an advancement of slavery, while socialism is an advancement of capitalism, and if true socialism were achieved, it would inevitably lead to communism, a state in which man could liberate himself. Whether the Marxist scheme be fitting or proper is not at issue here. What it reveals, however, is that the economic and social conditions of the early Han, and most particularly those of the Wen-Ching period (i.e. the reigns of emperors Wen and Ching from 180 -141 B.C.), represented a great advance in many respects over the earlier periods in the Ch'in and pre-Ch'in eras; with the breakdown of feudalism, the majority of the people were freed to assume political and economic personalities of their own. Commoners were free to become high ministers, to participate in state affairs and to undertake any economic activity they chose. Each person became an individual entity instead of the non-entity he had been in the periods of slavery and early feudalism. As it developed, the Han society became increasingly free and

open. Knowledge and skills, intelligence and talents, found an opportunity for expression in the various levels of society, including the government hierarchy. In short, the conditions of the early Han were such that people were allowed room and opportunity to assert their individualities and to achieve economic and spiritual independence if they so desired. It is the intention of this chapter to survey the economic and social conditions of the early Han with a view to determining the extent of these opportunities that arose; their abuse by the merchants and the greedy, overweeningly ambitious residual feudal lords will also be assessed.

The Former Han witnessed a brilliant flowering of economic analysis supported by daring economic experimentation on a grand scale. The early part of the dynasty saw a laissez-faire economic policy which was followed by one that emphasized agriculture. In the central portion of the dynasty, a struggle between private and governmental enterprises led to a state monopoly of all major industries and a rigidly controlled economy. As the dynasty waned, new economic policies that entailed limitations on land ownership were proposed and attempted by the usurper, Wang Mang. Throughout the Former Han had thrived a tradition of encouraging recommendations from all officials and court conferences regarding economic policies proposed by the important officials. Debates were held before an imperial audience whenever an economic decision was required. The Treatise on Salt and Iron and the Comprehensive Discussion in the White Tiger Hall (鹽鐵論,白虎通論) are prime examples of the economic theories and arguments of the time. The state historians themselves had their say on the economy and devoted long chapters to analyses of the economic conditions of their times. Ssu-ma Ch'ien's

Biographies of the Money-Makers and Pan Ku's Treatise on Food and Money are the earliest and most important economic histories of China; both were written in the Former Han. Henceforth, little of that calibre was produced in the realm of economic thought.

A. Conditions of the Early Han

After the harsh rule of the Ch'in and the devastating wars that followed, the country was at a low ebb indeed. The population had been decimated; much of the remainder had scattered. According to Liang Chi-chao's estimation the population at the beginning of the Han was approximately five or six million.[1] Farmlands had been laid to waste and the scarcity of food led to so dire a famine that even cannibalism was not unheard of. So rampant was inflation that a picul of husked rice was priced at ten thousand copper cash.[2] As mentioned earlier, the large cities and capitals of former states were reduced to only twenty to thirty percent of their original population. The economy and social conditions of the country were in desperate need of revitalization.

Realizing this, Kao-tsu Liu Pang issued edicts declaring that those of his followers who were willing to remain in Kuan Chung (關中, former Ch'in territory) would be exempt from tax and corvée labour for twelve years and those who wished to return to their native districts would be exempt likewise for six years. All other peasants and commoners who were scattered and had not registered themselves in official records were permitted to return to their former homes where their land and noble ranks would be restored to them. Those who, from hunger, had sold themselves into slavery, were restored their status as commoners. All surviving soldiers and officers were awarded the

noble title of ta fu 大夫, fifth rank. Those who already had ranks above that of ta fu were promoted an additional rank. Those who ranked chi ta fu 七大夫 were ceded fiefs and those with ranks below chi ta fu were granted, together with their families, exemption from tax and corvée labour.[3] Thereby, Liu Pang attempted to relieve his subjects, at least for a period of time, of the burden of taxation and labour, so that they could fully devote themselves to making a livelihood in those difficult times. His primary economic policy was the promotion of agriculture, as he realized that an agricultural economy was the basis of the people's livelihood and the sustaining force of commerce and industry. Further, all salaries and national expenditures were budgetted and adjusted in such a way that they would not prove burdensome. The emperor and the feudal lords were to sustain themselves by the resources of their mountains, rivers, ponds and gardens, and the rents and levies from markets, instead of drawing from government coffers.[4] These practices greatly stabilized the peasants and revived the agricultural economy.

B. Landholding System and Taxation

Circumstances dictated that rulers of the early Han re-establish a feudal system and then gradually phase it out entirely. However, Han feudalism deviated greatly from Chou feudalism. Its structure of society and government, together with its new economic developments, made Han feudalism unique. In fact, after a few decades, when the feudal lords were gradually deprived of their administrative and political power and their enfeoffments had economic significance only,[5] Han feudalism began to lose its feudal character altogether.

The feudal lords of the Han were of three primary categories: the

first was that of the feudal king, a title granted to outstanding meritorious founders of the dynasty and to sons and brothers of the emperor. Some of the minor sons were awarded the status of marquis. The minor meritorious ministers and generals were also granted the title of marquis and these were subdivided into two types: Marquis of Ch'e, or Ch'e Hou and Marquis of Kuan Nei or Kuan Nai Hou (徹侯關內侯). The title of Marquis of Ch'e was altered to that of T'ung or Marquis of Leh (通侯或列侯) during Emperor Wu's reign because the word Ch'e, Emperor Wu's name, was now taboo.

Feudal kings had the right of rulership and had their own courts of officials similar to the Han court, with the exception that their prime ministers had to be appointed by the emperor. After the reigns of Emperors Wen and Ching, however, and more particularly after the Rebellion of the Seven Kingdoms in 154 B.C., both the political power and the territories of these feudal kings were abridged, and ultimately eliminated. Though the Marquises of Ch'e were ceded a certain number of people for the living support in a given domain, they had no political or administrative power. The size of their domains was determined by the number of households inhabiting them. The larger of them comprised over ten thousand households, whereas the smaller of them ranged from five to six hundred households. Marquises of Kuan Nei or Marquises within the Pass were titular only, without domains of any sort, and were under the direct support of the Han court and required to remain in the environs of the capital.[6] In fact, most of the Ch'e Hou also resided in the capital rather than their own domains either because they held important government posts, or because they preferred the influential court circles to the administrative rule of the T'ai-shou

太守, or Governor of Commandery in their own domains. All feudal kings resided in their domains and administered their territories as they would independent states. (Theoretically they were not supposed to have military power because no troop maneuvers were allowed unless the Han court issued the Tiger Tallies (虎符) to generals to dispatch an army). The largest feudal kingdoms extended over geographical regions and commanderies and contained large cities,[7] and, because their wealth rivalled and surpassed that of the Han court after a few decades, they soon became a latent threat to the central, imperial authority at Ch'ang-an.

Although the feudal kings had the right to rule their own domains and to exact taxes from its inhabitants, they did not have complete political and economic control over either. Under the institution of Son of Heaven, all land belonged to the emperor and all people were the emperor's subjects (普天之下,莫非王土,普天之下,莫非王臣). Therefore, the people of the feudal domains still owed their allegiance to the emperor, and the institution of the twenty noble ranks bestowed on all subjects was an ingenious device to bind all peoples within the empire to the central government. (The noble ranks will be discussed in more detail below.) The feudal kings and marquises were in actuality little more than large-scale landlords with the right to collect taxes and rents, who were free to pursue their own economic activities such as trade and manufacturing, as was everyone else, including the landlords, peasants, artisans and other commoners. They could buy and sell land, or sell their products or labour, as they wished.

Land distribution was controlled by the central government. All the land of the empire, including that enfeoffed to the feudal lords,

was divided into chün 郡 , or commanderies, which were, in turn, subdivided into smaller units of hsien 縣 , or counties, and hsiang 鄉 , or districts. Within a hsiang were t'ing 亭 , or postal pavilions and li 里, or hamlets. Most of the commanderies had been inherited from the Ch'in and Liu Pang added an additional twenty-two to the Ch'in's forty (originally the Ch'in had thirty-six) making a total of sixty-two.[8] This system as a whole was inherited from the Ch'in and modified by the Han rulers: the Governor or Chün-shou 郡守 , appointed by the emperor, was the administrative head of a commandery and was assisted by the Chief Commandant, chün-wei 郡尉, who supervised military affairs and the enforcement of law and order. Under him were the Prefectural Commandant, 縣尉 Hsien-wei, District Sheriff, yu-chiao 游徼, and Postal Pavilion Chief, T'ing-chang 亭長 . Liu Pang himself was a popular T'ing-chang in P'ei before he engineered the uprising against the Ch'in. To oversee civil matters, there were the Prefectural Magistrates, Hs i en-ling 縣令 and county chiefs, Hsien-chang 縣長.[9]

In the Han Shu's chapter on the Hundred Officials and High Ministers, is a passage giving the classification of different areas and posts:

> In the main, for every ten li 里 (here one li was used as a measurement for a distance of 1800 Chinese feet) there is a t'ing, 亭 , which is manned by a chief (亭有長). For every ten t'ing, there is a hsiang, 鄉, which is run by the San-lao 三老 , yu-chih 有秩 , Se-fu 嗇夫 , and Yu-chiao 游徼 . The San-lao is in charge of teaching the people and promoting culture. The Se-fu's task is to collect taxes and conscript military and labour services. The Yu-chaio maintains order and restrains thieves and robbers. A hsien 縣 is, in the main, about one hundred square li . . . . The hsien that are assigned as living support for the feudal marquisates are called k'uo 國 , or states. The ones that are assigned to the grand empress, empresses, and princesses are called i 邑 , or domains. The areas that have barbarians residing in them are

> called tao 道, or circuits. All the hsien, tao, k'uo and i total 1587, the hsiang 6622, and t'ing 29,635.[10]

The passage clearly indicates that the division of hsien, hsiang, t'ing, was drawn according to distance as well as area. A county or prefecture 縣, covered about one hundred square li or 4271.4 English acres (25.835+ square miles). On average, within a hsien or county, there were at least four hsiang and forty t'ing, although some allowance must be made for geographical irregularities such as mountains and swamps, as well as the larger spatial distribution in the border regions. The official statistics of the second chapter on Han Geography reveals that in A.D. 2 there were thirty-two tao (circuits), 1314 hsien (counties) and i 邑(domains) for the support of empresses and princesses. The distance of the empire measured 9320 li from east to west and 13,368 li from north to south, which is equivalent to about 2790 and 4010 English miles respectively.[11] The figures given reflect the size of the empire towards the end of the Former Han when its political boundaries had expanded by at least one-third; since no figures are available corresponding to the early Han and the Wen-Ching period, one may achieve an approximation of the spatial distribution of the counties during the first 60 to 70 years of the Han by reducing the above figures by one quarter.

In the early years of the dynasty, it was a simple matter to allot land to peasants and commoners because of the decreased population. Those who returned to their native districts naturally reclaimed their land and property. Those who remained in new regions, especially the former Ch'in territories, were assigned new land. During the campaigns against Hsiang Yü, Hsiao Ho developed the regions south and southwest of Kuan Chung as far as Pa and Shu, 巴, 蜀, (now the Szechuan area);

because his clan members and followers cultivated those areas, he was able to send continuous supplies to Liu Pang's troops to sustain the campaigns.[12] Slaves who were restored to their status as commoners readily secured arable land at this time, since the government was doing all it could to promote agriculture. Thus, when crop failure or natural disaster resulted in famine, people were encouraged to move to the Pa and Shu areas where they were sure to secure food and enjoy better crop yields.

No records have survived of the amount of land allotted to each family at the beginning of the Han and no estimates were attempted by later scholars. Certainly there was no scarcity of land. The usual practice in the pre-Ch'in era was to allot to each household of four or five members a hundred mou 畝, Chinese acres.[13] In the early Han, however, land allotment must have been much greater, since the population had been so radically depleted. The Han Shu records indicate that during the four to five generations preceding the reigns of emperors Wen and Ching, the populations of the large marquisates grew from ten thousand households to thirty or forty thousand, while the smaller marquisates doubled in size.[14] (If Liang Chi-chao's estimation is correct, the early Han population of five to six million must have tripled bringing the population of Wen and Ching's time to nearly eighteen million.) Given the increased population during Emperor Wen's time, the officials were compelled to restore the pre-Ch'in practice of allotting one hundred mou of land (4.746+ English acres) per household, and this is confirmed by Ch'ao Ts'o's memorial to Emperor Wen.[15] It seems that one hundred mou per family had been the standard land allotment from pre-Ch'in times throughout the Han period even though

the size of mou was enlarged in 155 B.C. Towards the end of the Former Han, the usurper, Wang Mang, also strove to maintain this standard of 100 mou per married adult male.[16] The "average family of five" did not include the sons who had reached the age of sixteen; for these, additional acreage was granted.

In fact, land distribution in the Han was based, with modifications, on the Grand Model, 洪範, an ancient text which laid out a grand scheme for proper government and classification of people, and the fair distribution of land. The following passage regarding land allotment and taxation is pertinent to the Han system:

> When the people receive fields, the best grade an adult male receives is one hundred mou; the medium grade fields are two hundred mou; and the inferior grade three hundred mou . . . . After the agriculturalist householder receives (his share of) land, other male members of the family are regarded as "extra men", yü-fu 餘夫,[17] and also given a proportional amount of land according to their number. As for the families of scholars, craftsmen, and merchants to receive land, five persons are taken as equal to one farmer (or agriculturalist). This distribution is based on flat land and can be used as a standard. As for mountains and forests, swamps and marshes, plains and hills, barren and brackish land, each according to the degree of fertility and of poverty (of the land), are allocated to the people in various amounts. There are fu 賦 taxes (for the military) and shui 稅 taxes (levied on products). The shui taxes include levies on the royal land (commonly cultivated according to the well-field system) which amount to one tenth of the products from the allotted fields, and the revenue from taxes in kind or in cash paid by craftsmen, merchants, and those who make a living from mountains, forests, marshes and lakes under the control of government offices of heng and yü 衡虞 . The fu taxes provide for chariots, carts, horses, armour and weapons, as well as the military service of soldiers and officers. They serve the function of replenishing the treasury and the arsenal and serve as bestowals and gifts. The shui taxes provide for sacrifices and ceremonies to Heaven and Earth,

> offerings at the imperial ancestral temple, and services for the hundred deities, as well as for the living support of the Son of Heaven, for emoluments and the sustenance of the hundred officials, and for the various expenses of state affairs. The people receive land (fields) at the age of twenty, and they return it at sixty. Those who are over seventy are supported by the ruler (the state), and those under ten are fostered by the ruler . . . .[18]

Although the Han tax system did not follow these guidelines of the Grand Model religiously, it closely approximated its overall design. The Han developed its own model more systematically, with various experimental policies, such as a change in currency, a laissez-faire policy, the suppression of merchants, and government monopoly. In line with the Grand Model, Emperor Wen further improved pension plans for the old and foster care for orphans. Taxes in the Former Han, especially during the reigns of emperors Wen and Ching, were very low compared to those of most other dynasties. Instead of charging one tenth of the agricultural yields as advocated by the Grand Model, Liu Pang charged one fifteenth, compared to the fifty percent taxation of Ch'in times. Under the benevolent rule of Wen and Ching, the land tax was further lowered to one-thirtieth of total yield, and for certain periods when harvest was good and the granaries full, it was done away with entirely. (From the thirteenth year of Emperor Wen's reign, land tax was eliminated for thirteen years, a practice repeated by no other reign or dynasty.[19]) In general, land taxes throughout the Former Han averaged one thirtieth of the yield, although taxes on the merchants were usually double that of farmers. Only when Emperor Wu had exhausted the treasury with his various military expeditions did he find it necessary to resort to government monopolies, taxes on children over the age of seven, and property taxes on the merchants and landlords.

As one modification of the scheme of the Grand Model, the Han ruling house put its revenues under the management of two major departments: the Grains Management Secretariat 治粟內史 which governed the revenues and expenditures of the state (the office was renamed The Grand Ministry of Agriculture in 143 B.C. 大農令, and 大司農 in 104 B.C.), and the Junior Treasury 少府 which managed the finances of the emperor and the upkeep of the palaces. The main source of income for the Junior Treasury was taxation of those who exploited the resources of the mountains, rivers, lakes, parks and gardens, and markets (including the large metropolitan markets). The major sources of the Grains Management Secretariat's revenue were land taxes, the poll tax on adults (算賦 suan-fu), and payments in lieu of military and corvée service. After Emperor Wu's reign, taxes on carts and boats, livestock, children and property were introduced.[20] The poll tax was levied on all adults between the ages of 15 and 56, each of whom was assessed 120 copper cash per year. Merchants and slave-owners were required to pay twice this amount, i.e. 240 per head, in keeping with the policy of suppressing the merchant and wealthy classes. In Emperor Wen's time, the 120 cash assessment was lowered to 40.[21] Since land tax came from the land-owing peasants and landlords, merchants, craftsmen and all others without land were not required to pay it. Thus, a capital tax 貲算 was designed for this group and it was introduced in the latter part of Emperor Ching's reign: for every ten thousand copper cash of income or capital, 127 cash was levied each year as tax. At that time the interest rate on money borrowed from professional money-lenders was 20%; thus, ten thousand cash yielded two thousand cash profit,[22] and a tax of 127 cash on two thousand profit was roughly equivalent to a land tax of one

fifteenth of total yield. Clearly the tax system in early Han was intended to be fair.

In Han times, every adult male between the ages of 23 and 56 was required to take part in military service, by spending one year as a guard in the capital (the North and the South Army 南北軍) and a second year as either a skilled soldier (材官, or infantryman), cavalryman or sailor on a towered ship (樓船, battleships in Han times). Subsequently, he had to serve one month per year as a labourer on public works, such as irrigation systems, roads and bridges, and grain transportation. In addition, he was required by the Grains Management Secretariat to station three days per year in the border regions. In lieu of service, he was permitted to pay 2000 copper cash per month, plus 300 copper cash to the local official for his substitute.[23]

Those in the domains of the feudal kings and marquises were not assessed the 120 cooper cash poll tax by the central government; instead, 200 copper cash per annum per household was levied by their feudal lords.[24] Thus, a feudal lord with a domain of one thousand households would collect two hundred thousand copper cash, by which he defrayed his own expenses—staff salaries and gifts for the emperor and his other superiors. An example of the official registration of a householder, by which his wealth was calculated for taxation purposes, is provided by the wooden tablets found in Chü Yen 居延 in northwest China:

Hou Chiang	Li Teh	Kuang Cheung Li	Kung Cheng	Li Chung
侯長	祿得	廣昌里	公乘	禮忠
(Military) Rank: Captain	(Name) of County	(Name of Hamlet)	(Noble) Rank: 8th Rank	(Full Name)

Nien San Shih: owns the following property
卒 卅
(Age: Thirty)

Junior slaves, two men, worth thirty thousand (cash)
Adult female slave, one, (worth) twenty thousand
Chariot, one cart, worth ten thousand
Service horse, five head , worth twenty thousand
Ox cart, on (cart), worth four thousand
Service oxen, two (head), (worth) six thousand
Residence, one house, (worth) ten thousand
Fields, five ch'ing 頃 (=500 mou), worth fifty thousand
Total worth of property, one hundred and fifty thousand.[25]

The Annals of Emperor Wen reports that the average worth of the property of ten middle class families was one hundred catties of gold (one catty = 100 thousand copper cash). The taxation rate for property owned in the Former Han was 127 copper cash for every ten thousand cash value of land. Thus, Li Chung, a captain living on the northwest border, who possessed 150 thousand cash worth of property, belonged to the upper middle class, and would have been assessed property tax in the amount of 1905 cash per year.

C. Effect of the Laissez-Faire Economic Policy

Both the Treatise on Food and Money in the Han Shu and the Biographies of the Money-Makers in the Shih Chi are among the most difficult chapters of the original works on Han China to understand and to translate, and they employ numerous technical terms. However, they provide an in-depth description of the economic conditions of the Former Han, as well as a useful portrayal of Han economic thought.

In Chapter 129, Ssu-ma Ch'ien presents his own economic thought, and indirectly inveighs against Emperor Wu's economic policies. Opposing the government's economic competition with its people, he advocates a laissez-faire policy. As his ideas and arguments are well suited to the economic development of the early Han prior to Emperor Wu's accession, it seems likely that he derived his ideas from a careful study of the

economic conditions of that period. As a Taoist, it was natural for him to support free enterprise and oppose governmental interference in the economy, although it is necessary to note that his notion of free enterprise is qualified by the stipulation that disorder and chaos must not be permitted to develop in such an economy. Thus, individuals entering into economic activity are required to possess a high understanding of the natural course of the development of economic affairs and to adapt themselves accordingly. Under no circumstances is their goal to be purely the attainment of enormous profit to the neglect of other aspects of life such as the promotion of culture and the refinement of the individual. Kuan-tzu's (管仲) statement that "only when the granaries are full can rites and righteousness be appreciated; only when food and clothing are adequate can glory and disgrace be known"[26] was Ssu-ma Ch'ien's starting point. He advocated profit-making not for its own sake, but rather as a means to the achievement of a higher end. It was for this reason, primarily, that he laid out his economic view before elaborating on his accounts of the merchants and industrialists. He writes:

> Though only commoners with no special ranks or titles, they were able, without interfering with the government or hindering the activities of the people, to increase their wealth by making the right moves at the right times. Wise men will find something to learn from them. Thus I wrote The Biographies of the Money-Makers.[27]

The above statement also introduces his principle that one should neither interfere with the government nor hinder the activities of others in the pursuit of money.

Regarding the government's attitude, Ssu-ma Ch'ien adds:

> . . . . the highest type of ruler accepts the nature of the people, the next best leads them to what is

> beneficial, the next gives them moral instruction, the next forces them to be orderly, and the very worst kind enters into competition with them.[28]

These statements can be utilized very effectively in evaluating the Former Han government; according to that analysis, the Former Han can be divided into three main phases: the first includes the reigns of Emperor Hui and Empress Lü, who freed the people by their allegiance to a policy of wu wei, and it corresponds to Ssu-ma Ch'ien's "highest type of ruler," who "accepts the nature of the people;" the second includes the reigns of emperors Wen and Ching, and corresponds to the "next best type of ruler," who "leads the people to what is beneficial;" and the third phase, in the reign of Emperor Wu, corresponds to the lower categories of ruler, who "gives them moral instruction" (in adopting Confucian orthodoxy), "forces them to be orderly" (in adopting Legalist ideas in government), and "enters into competition with them" (in enforcing government monopolies such as salt and iron). In Ssu-ma Ch'ien's view, wealth should enhance a person's benevolence and righteousness rather than debase him. "A gentleman (Chün Tzu 君子) who becomes rich will delight in practicing virtue, and a little man (小人, mean, narrow-minded and ungentlemanly person) who becomes rich will use his wealth to wield power."[29]

The conditions of the early Han were highly favourable to the reception of Taoist Huang-Lao thought and the concept of wu wei in government. The "purposeful" action of the Ch'in and the devastating wars betwen Liu Pang and Hsiang Yü had proven to the people the validity of Huang-ti's and Lao Tzu's teachings. The masses, therefore, readily embraced the "life-nurturing" aspect of Huang-ti's teachings as well as Lao Tzu's demand for simplicity of rule. As a result, the outlines of a laissez-faire policy began to make their appearance. At first, Liu

Pang continued to discriminate against the merchant class by barring them from government office and denying their right to ride in chariots, but these restrictions soon eased. Tariffs on passes and bridges between various regions were abolished, facilitating the unhindered flow of commodities from one region to another. The resources of mountains and marshes could now be extracted by the first comers.[30] When Ts'o Shen was appointed to the post of prime minister of the Han central government, a laissez-faire policy became fully operative as the general guideline for the government, more or less until Emperor Wu's reign. Although emperors Wen and Ching both encouraged agriculture and sought to augment the welfare of the masses, they did not obstruct the commercial activities of the merchants. Within less than three decades after the war, and even before the reign of Emperor Wen, this laissez-faire policy had revived the country's economy. Pan Ku comments that all the empire was at peace; punishments and sanctions were imposed only rarely; the people devoted themselves to farming, and clothing and food production increased manyfold.[31]

Ssu-ma Ch'ien must have derived his ideas regarding laissez-faire economic policy from a study of the economic conditions during the reigns of Emperor Hui and Empress Lü, in view of the close parallel between them. He says:

> Society must rely on farmers if people are to eat; on miners, foresters and fishermen, etc., to bring out the natural resources; on craftsmen to make merchandise; and on merchants to circulate the goods. What need is there for government instructions, conscription of labour, or periodic assemblies? Each person merely makes the best of his ability and exerts his strength in order to secure what he desires. Therefore, when a product is cheap it seeks a raise in price, and when it is expensive it soon induces a drop in price. When

> each person is encouraged in his own occupation and rejoices in his undertakings, like water seeking the lowest ground, goods will come forth by themselves day and night without stopping; and without being summoned and without being asked, people will produce commodities. Does this situation not fit well with Tao? And is it not a vindication of the working of nature?[32]

Such indeed was the case during the reigns of Emperor Hui and Empress Lü, when the laissez-faire policy was established by Prime Minister Ts'o Shen and taken up by his successors. Under private ownership and free enterprise, all strove for economic gain; production increased and the economy prospered within a short time. Given China's extensive territories and its rich resources, Ssu-ma Ch'ien believed that there should be no shortage of commodities, and that each person, if he applied his wisdom and abilities, should be able to maintain a comfortable standard of living. Different trades serve different functions: the four major classes (i.e. farmers, artisans, merchants, and the primary resource producers such as miners and fishermen), as the major sources of food and clothing, are all society requires, and it is on these classes that the prosperity of a country depends.[33]

Ssu-ma Ch'ien was also a keen observer of human nature. He believed that the impetus behind economic activity was the people's yearning for wealth. He pointed out that the desire for wealth need not be taught; it was an integral part of human nature. "Jostling and joyous, the whole world comes after profit; racing and rioting, after profit the whole world goes!"[34] Even kings with a thousand chariots, marquises with ten thousand households, and lords with a hundred dwellings worried about poverty; how much more so would an ordinary person registered on the tax collector's list?[35]

On the one hand the laissez-faire policy brought about economic prosperity, but on the other it also had undesirable side-effects—the

unchecked competition for wealth led to an increasing disparity between the rich and the poor. Land annexation by the rich began during Emperor Wen's reign, although the policies proposed by Chia I and Ch'ao Ts'o and implemented by emperors Wen and Ching slowed the process and prevented the situation from becoming intolerable. The growth of trade and industry, however, continued unabated. It was not until some time after Emperor Wu took the throne and, more particularly, after Tung Chung-shu, the great Confucian scholar attracted notice, that the situation grew serious.

D. The Growing Wealth of the Merchants and Feudal Lords

The prosperity of the merchant class had its roots in the Warring States period, although its intermittent wars and the restrictions on exploiting natural resources, imposed by the different states, somewhat hampered commercial activity during this period. These impediments eventually served only to render the merchant class more adept at its trade. After the establishment of the Han, merchants were given the lucrative opportunity to conduct their business freely, given the relaxation of laws and the lifting of barriers and tariffs on passes. They were now free to travel everywhere and to conduct their business at will. Ssu-ma Ch'ien remarks that in now being able to exchange all the goods they wished, all the dreams of the great merchants had been fulfilled.[36]

The growth of commerce did not depend solely on the relaxation of laws—the more important requirements for its steady development were prolonged political and social stability. Such a period prevailed from the reign of Emperor Hui to the early years of that of Emperor Wu and it gave rise to unprecedented prosperity. Ssu-ma Ch'ien, in his Historical

Records, gives a very detailed account of the commercial development of the cities as well as of different geographical regions. Even during the Warring States period, most of the capitals and urban areas of the varying states were in the process of becoming major commercial and industrial centres where merchants and craftsmen gathered to produce and exchange various kinds of goods. Chapter Three of the Yen T'ieh Lun (鹽鐵論 Discourses on Salt and Iron) draws attention to the historical roots of the cities and the reasons for their urbanization:

> (The cities of) Tso and Chi (涿薊) of the State of Yen, Han Tan (邯鄲) of the State of Chao, Wen and Chih (溫軹) of the State of Wei, Yung Yang (滎陽) of the State of Han, Lin Tsi (臨淄) of Ch'i, Wan Ch'iu (宛丘) of the State of Ch'u, Yang Ti (陽翟) of the State of Cheng, the two Chou (二周) of San Ch'uan (三川), which have wealth surpassing all within the seas, are famous minicipalities under heaven. They are rich not because someone has helped them in cultivating their countryside and tilling their fields, but rather because they are located at the crossroads and arteries of the five feudal states (here meaning five directions). Therefore, when goods are bountiful the people will shine forth. Wealth is acquired by methods and techniques, not by toiling with the body. Profit results from riding the predominant situation (as a wave), not in exerting oneself in tilling (the fields).[37]

Under the laissez-faire atmosphere of early Han, these burgeoning cities made good use of their freedom, especially those with a good command of the natural resources of their environs, and which were conveniently situated near the waterways or imperial highways which rendered transportation of goods quick and easy.

The feudal lords of the domains that contained some of these cities profited greatly by the commercial activities there, and some even engaged in trade and manufacturing. The King of Wu, Liu P'i (吳王劉濞), for example, profitably exploited the natural resources of his domain:

> At the time of Emperor Hui and Empress Lü, the whole empire had just been stabilized. The various feudal lords in their states and the commanderies were busying themselves in putting their people in order. In the State of Wu was the Yü-chang Commandery which had mountains with copper (minerals); King of Wu then gathered to his state fugitives from within the empire to mint coins (copper cash) secretly, and in the eastern area, to boil the sea water into salt. As a result, he did not have to levy the poll tax, his state became rich and its expenses were more than adequately defrayed.[38]

Since Liu P'i made substantial profits from his enterprises, he was not obliged to collect taxes from the people within his domain. But the other feudal lords continued to do so and they were entitled to levy two hundred copper cash per household per year.[39] Thus, their income automatically increased in proportion to population growth; given their great wealth, it was a natural tendency for them to invest in land and it was not unusual for feudal lords as well as high officials to do so.[40]

In view of the immensity of the newly unified empire, different regions with different natural resources tended to specialize in the production of different commodities. The merchants were able to circulate these various goods throughout the empire, and thus stimulated regional exchange, commercial activity and local industry, and especially the manufacture of handicrafts and tools (pottery and iron tools were especially important). The merchants were the first to become rich, soon followed by the feudal lords and the large-scale landowners. The wealth of some of the feudal states even surpassed that of the central government; Chia I likened the empire to a person suffering from a disease, one of whose symptoms was abnormal swelling. The size of one limb was almost as big as the waist, and the size of one finger was almost as big as the hip.[41] The limb and the finger represent, of course,

the feudal states, whereas the waist and the hip represent the Han government. Wealthy as they were, it is evident that had the feudal states built up their military strength, they could easily have overpowered the Han court, and their increasing wealth was, in fact, a contributing factor in the rebellion against central authority during the early years of Emperor Ching.

Regarding the specializations of the various regions, Ssu-ma Ch'ien gives a detailed account in his Biographies of the Money-Makers:

> The region west of the mountains (Mt. Hua) is abundant in timber, bamboo, the ku 穀 tree[42], hemp fibers, oxen (yak)-tails (for banner tassels), jade and other precious stones. East of the mountains are abundant fish, salt, lacquer, silk, musical instruments, and dyes.[43] The region south of the River (Yang-tzu River) produces cedar (camphor wood), catalpa, ginger, cinnamon, gold, tin, lead ore, cinnabar, rhinoceros horns, tortoise shell, pearls of various shapes, elephant tusks and hides. North of Lung-men and Chieh-shih (Hopei Province) abounds in horses, cattle, sheep, felt, fur garments, tendons and horns (for making bows and arrows). Copper and iron, furthermore, are usually produced from mountains here and there that cover thousands of miles (li 里) like chessmen placed on a chessboard. These are the more important commodities in their general distribution. All of these items are coveted by the people of the empire. These are the items by which, according to their tradition and custom, the people use for their bedding, clothing, beverages and food, and by which they serve the living and deliver to the dead.[44]

As a result of regional specialization, and because the merchants and industrialists were free from government restrictions, they were able to distribute various products all over the empire, making enormous profits and ushering in an economic boom in the process. As a result, the overall standard of living was raised, although the merchants, feudal lords and large-scale landowners benefitted most. Both the Shih-chi and Han Shu conclude that successful individuals acquired great wealth because they devoted themselves to their businesses attentively, accu-

mulated their profits and capital, manipulated the resources of the various regions and made their calculations carefully. Furthermore, they reacted with wisdom to the changes of time and circumstance and made the right decisions accordingly.

E. Modification of Economic Policy During the Reigns of Wen and Ching

The laissez-faire policy not only served its intended purpose of reviving the economy, it also stimulated the overall prosperity of the country. It was not, however, without drawbacks. Due to the increased volume of trade and the great distances involved in financial transactions, money economy became popular and gained more importance. Still, in Emperor Wen's time there was as yet no uniform official currency. Copper coins of various weights and sizes had been in circulation since the reign of Liu Pang. The weight of a copper coin was measured in terms of shu 銖, which was equivalent to 100 kernels of millet. Twenty-four shu made a tael 兩 and sixteen taels a catty 斤. In early Han, the Ch'in coin pan-liang 半兩 or half-a-tael (i.e. 12 shu), the 8-shu and the wu-fen 五分 (3-shu in weight) coins were in use together with the small coins of Elm-pod 榆莢錢 also 3-shu in weight). The overly heavy Ch'in coin, pan-liang, soon fell into disuse, and in 175 B.C., in the reign of Emperor Wen, a 4-shu coin of the same name was introduced and remained in circulation for about fifty years until the early years of Emperor Wu's reign.[45] The main problem lay not in the variety of coins themselves, but in the lack of government control over the actual weight, size and mineral content of the coins minted. Private minting, though prohibited by Empress Lü, was later permitted by Emperor Wen. Moreover, when legal prohibition was in effect, it was ignored, and coins were

secretly minted nonetheless. Furthermore, in addition to the central government, the commanderies, feudal states and most copper-producing areas also minted coins, which differed in quality and value from one another. In his memorial, Chia I pointed out that despite government regulations, profiteers continued to intermix lead and iron in the casting of coins in order to increase their profits still further, and that the coins in use varied from county to county and commandery to commandery, and were either too light or too heavy for acceptable general use.[46]

It was a confusing period for the money economy in the early Han. Inexperienced, and faced with a burgeoning economy, the central government was at a loss. Large quantities of currency were required to meet the rising demands of inter-regional and local trade, although the government did not know how much was needed in any given region, as no statistics or records on the volume of trade existed. Since the government could not prevent the illicit minting of coins, and since the demand for currency continued to grow, Emperor Wen was compelled to rescind the statute against illegal minting in the fifth year of his reign.[47]

There were deeper reasons still for Emperor Wen's rescission. He was in full agreement with the overall policy, laid down by his predecessors and their ministers, of improving social and economic conditions, allowing the people to rest and recuperate after the hardships of the Ch'in, and refraining from interference in their activities. As a result, the laissez-faire atmosphere held sway. Because of the rapid increase in trade, the barter system could not meet the contemporary demand, and a monetary system was urgently needed. The large cash flow within the country, as the volume of trade increased, required money as a medium of

exchange. But until Emperor Wen's time the amount of cash flow had not matched demand, with the result that the actual value of money was higher than its face value; hence the number of people who dared to mint coins secretly despite the heavy threat of the death penalty. As Chia I pointed out, if minting was forbidden, then the value of money would necessarily increase, and the practice of secret minting would rise like clouds, to the extent that even the death penalty could not restrain it.[48] Therefore, realizing the drawbacks of free minting, Emperor Wen revoked the minting statute, in the hope that the beneficial results would outweigh the resultant problems.

One may wonder why the Han government did not take sole charge of minting coins and simply produce more coins to meet the demand. It was not so simple, however—the cost of the process of minting had to be considered: the manufacture of coins required a great deal of capital, and the mints had to be located near copper and coal mines, which, in turn, had to employ a sizeable labour force. Thus, if a high standard for coins was set, the cost of manufacturing and transporting the coins was likely to be higher than their face value. For lack of a better solution, the government had little alternative but to tolerate private minting and the circulation of inferior coins for the time being. Indeed, the central government did operate some mints and produced some standard coins (e.g. the 4-shu copper cash), and set regulations for coins manufactured privately. However, prompted by the lure of great profits, private minters braved the risk of punishment and produced coins with a high iron and lead content. Chia I proposed to have offenders tattooed instead of executed, because he felt the death penalty was too severe.[49] In addition, the inferior coins did fulfill their

funotion as a means of exchange and thus alleviated the demand for money. The government thus acted on the belief that the markets themselves would regulate the value of the inferior coins, as it was observed that when the coins were found to be too light, traders demanded additional coins to compensate for the loss in coin value.[50]

Free activity in coin minting was a great economic experiment, which lasted for thirty-two years, from 175 B.C. to 144 B.C. To a certain extent it was successful and the objectives of facilitating economic growth and raising the quality of coinage were fulfilled.[51] However, the detrimental effects were substantial as well, and contributed to Emperor Wu's abrupt change in policy. Even during Emperor Wen's time the effects of private minting were already noticeable: whenever an increased amount of inferior coins entered the market, inflation and confusion resulted;[52] furthermore, only the rich had enough capital to run mints and copper mines, and thus the great profits devolved primarily to the rich, aggravating the disparity between rich and poor. Another effect was that the rapid rise in wealth of the rich and the feudal kingdoms, and particularly the Kingdom of Wu, became a threat to the economic and political power of the central government, and the foundation for the rebellion of the seven kingdoms was laid. In the Yen T'ieh Lun, a Grandee official draws the attention of the emperor to the fact that during Emperor Wen's time, the privately minted coins of Liu P'i (King of Wu) and Teng T'ung (a favoured official of Emperor Wen) were distributed throughout the empire (吳鄧錢布天下),[53] which gives some indication of the astonishing wealth and power of these private minters. Other great merchants accumulated as much as ten thousand catties of gold in profits from minting.[54]

The problems created by the laissez-faire economic policy were clearly perceived by Chia I and Ch'ao Ts'o, who thus recommended the policy of placing emphasis on agriculture instead of commerce as a secure base for the country, and advocated stressing the value of grain to the people so that they would, as they put it, regard agricultural stability as "a tree trunk" and not "chase after the branches" in commercial activities, with the result that the unity of the country would soon find itself imperilled. Chia I pointed out that if one single farmer did not cultivate his fields, someone would suffer hunger; if one single woman did not weave, someone would suffer from cold. The growth of agricultural goods is a lengthy process—if an adjustment is not made to match consumers with producers, support from those commodities will quickly wither. He felt that the people of his time were neglecting the "trunk" and pursuing the "branches" though demand for food remained constant, and that this tendency was the great weak point of the empire.[55] He thus recommended that the minting of coins be placed directly under the control of the government; if this were done, the people would once more engage in farming instead of leaving their ploughs and crowding to work in copper mines and coal furnaces.[56]

Although Chia I's argument was sound and valid, Emperor Wen perceived the situation somewhat differently. He still favoured the laissez-faire policy as an overall guideline and did not restrict private minting. At the same time, however, he encouraged agriculture and led a frugal life himself to set an example for his people.

Ch'ao Ts'o shared Chia I's point of view, but he was more concerned with the security of the central government and the threatening strength of the feudal kingdoms. He did not fundamentally oppose the monetary

system, merely stressing the importance of returning to agriculture and storing grain so that the country could withstand either external threat by the Hsiung-nu or natural calamities. He proposed a policy of putting value on grains and of granting noble ranks in return for the submission of grains to the government.[57] Ch'ao Ts'o's recommendations were accepted and implemented by Emperor Wen, as they were complementary to his own policy of stimulating agriculture. This policy and practice endured until the latter part of Emperor Ching's reign.

As the above discussion reveals, an overall laissez-faire policy prevailed from the time of Emperor Hui to that of Emperor Ching, with some modifications necessitated by circumstances, such as the shift of policy on coinage control and the promotion of agriculture to counteract the lopsided growth of the commercial economy, which was detrimental to the political stability of the central government.

F. Overall Economic Conditions and the Impending Crisis

The overall laissez-faire policy of the two decades that followed the establishment of the dynasty not only revived the country's economy, but brought prosperity as well. Although commercial activities involving regional trade took the lead, industrial development soon caught up and the two stimulated one another and grew hand in hand. In fact, throughout the Western Han, most of the important merchants were also industrialists, and vice versa, for they both manufactured and sold their own goods. With the increase in available capital, they were able to conduct business on an ever-expanding scale. The products and resources of merchants were, by this time, measured by the thousands: thousand hoof and horns (of cattle), thousand feet (of sheep and pigs),

a thousand chestnut trees, a thousand citrus trees, a thousand catalpas, a thousand mou of lacquer trees, dates, hemp, and mulberry trees, a thousand mou of gardenias or madder (for yellow and red dyes), a thousand soil beds of ginger and leeks.[58] These were, clearly, large-scale businesses which demanded a high level of organization and management. A thousand mou of lacquer trees or mulberry trees was a plantation, an undertaking beyond the means and ability of a mere peasant. Merchants and industrialists who owned property on such a scale would have an income little short of that of an enfeoffed noble: thus Ssu-ma Ch'ien called them the "untitled nobility," 素封.[59]

In the large market towns and metropolitan areas, great fortunes were easily made in commercial activities. Both Pan Ku and Ssu-ma Ch'ien report that any person could sell within a year's time one thousand brewings of liquor; a thousand jars of pickles and sauces; a thousand slaughtered animals; a thousand cart-loads of firewood, a thousand lacquered wooden vessels; ten thousand bamboo poles; a hundred horse carriages; thirty thousand catties of brass utensils; two hundred horses; five hundred cattle; thirty thousand catties of silk fabrics, raw silk fibres, or other fine fabrics; a thousand jars of leaven and salted bean paste; thirty thousand catties of dried or salted fish; a thousand skins of fox or sable; a thousand pieces of felt and mats; plain wooden vessels and iron vessels, dyes, weighing a thousand piculs in total; various fruits and vegetables weighing a thousand chung (鍾, a measurement equal to six Han bushels and four pecks); or a thousand strings of cash (one string = one thousand copper cash) loaned on interest, would yield a return equivalent to the wealth of a (noble) family of a thousand chariots. Other occupations and businesses which yielded less than

twenty percent profit are not mentioned.[60] The above commodities were among the most common items that could be traded with great profit, although there must have been numerous other profitable goods and products that contributed to the jostle and bustle of the marketplaces. In addition, it was natural for the service industries that provided food or lodging to develop alongside the growth of cities or market towns. Many peasants either abandoned their land in order to migrate to the cities to make a better living, or did so through the annexation of their land by the large-scale landowners. There, they either operated small businesses, worked as craftsmen, or sold their labour. Hence the common saying:

> For a poor man to become rich, farming is not as good as handicrafts, and handicrafts are not as good as trading. To embroider elegant patterns is not as good as leaning against a market gate.[61]

Thus the burgeoning commercial activity boosted the growth of primary and secondary industries which supplied commodities such as salt, iron, pottery, and utensils to the various markets. Among these industries, salt and iron processing ranked highest both in terms of the capital and number of workers required and in terms of profit. The Yen T'ieh Lun reported that the large, wealthy families gained control of the profits from the mountains and seas by extracting and smelting iron ore and by making salt. The number of people (workers) assembled by one family could amount to over a thousand, many of whom were migrants and vagabonds who travelled far from their native counties and hamlets to secure work with these large, powerful families.[62] During this time, iron tools became popular and were in great demand. One of the professed reasons for Chao T'o's rebellion was the embargo on iron

tools and other utensils imposed on his kingdom of Nan Yueh by Empress Lü.[63]

Other important industries included the manufacture of textiles and clothing, pottery, lacquer wares, and other regional products, such as bamboo wares and spices originating from Shu (Szechuan). Throughout the Han dynasty, government offices supervised the textile industry and weaving in various areas to ensure an adequate supply to the court. (Besides their court use, silk fabrics were much in demand as gifts for subjects and "barbarians".) The Treatise on Geography in the Han Shu describes the land of Ch'i (Shantung) as the honoured supplier to the whole empire of various beautiful silk fabrics and embroideries fashioned into hats, belts, clothes, and shoes.[64] The Yen T'ieh Lun also mentions places renowned for their local textile products such as Shu (brocade), Shu Han and Yüeh (linen and cloth fabrics).[65] Artifacts excavated in China in the past twenty years have, moreover, validated these reports of the Han historians.

Because of the lucrative nature of commercial and industrial activities, many farmers abandoned agriculture to engage in trade, a tendency which continued down to Emperor Yuan's time (r. 48-33 B.C.). Even though land was allotted to the poor peasants, they sold it cheaply in order to use the capital to do business.[66] The important merchants merely stored up their goods to foster higher prices and returns on interest, and left the minor traders to the actual retailing.[67] Farming and husbandery became industrialized as well. In the Biographies of the Money-makers is written:

> . . . .In addition, there are many other men who exert themselves at farming, animal raising, crafts, lumbering, merchandising, and trade and seize the opportunities of the moment to make a fortune, the greatest of them dominating a whole province, the

> next greatest dominating a district, and the smallest dominating a village, but they are too numerous to be described here.[68]

With increasing numbers of people engaging in business, and with the money economy growing and becoming more standardized (although the government was still experimenting with different monetary units) commercial development during most of the early Han was much more extensive and advanced than in the Warring States period. Commercial development stimulated and gave substance to urban growth, for it was in the cities that the large transactions took place. Cities became highly developed, and their large marketplaces and easily accessible streets and avenues facilitated commercial activity.[69] Ch'ang-an, the well-planned capital, was the largest metropolitan area, followed by Lin Tsï in Ch'i. In Ch'ang-an, a magnificent walled city with deep moats, most of whose inhabitants were rich and influential;[70] broad avenues and streets crossed one another like a chessboard, crowded with a motley throng of people and carriages. There were a total of nine marketplaces; the six that were located on the west side of the avenue were called "the West Market"; the other three, located on the east side of the avenue, were called, naturally enough, "the East Market". Down to the T'ang dynasty, Ch'ang-an remained constructed after the Han pattern.

During the reigns of Wen and Ching, northern China was prosperous and well-developed. For geographical reasons, the area south of the Yang-tzu River, with the exceptions of Shou Ch'un 壽春, in Hunan and Pan Yu 番禺, in present day Canton area, did not at that time enjoy the same degree of prosperity. Although the people in the south were not rich, their wealth was much more evenly distributed: because their climatic conditions were superior to those of the north, food was easily

grown and abundant, and cold and starvation were rarely a threat.[71]

The prevailing economic climate under emperors Wen and Ching was one of prosperity, and gave rise to the emergence of the merchant class, who then became the new landowning class; in economic power as well they soon rivalled the official bureaucrats and the landed gentry. Through land annexation and usury, many peasants were reduced to tenant farmers and labourers, and even nobles were prey to exploitation by the larger merchants. When the seven kingdoms rebelled early in Emperor Ching's reign, the feudal lords of Ch'ang-an found themselves compelled to borrow money to equip themselves for the expedition to subdue the rebels. A money-lender, Mr. Wu-yen, loaned out a thousand catties of gold at an interest rate of 1,000% because of the high risk involved in war; within a year he recovered his loan tenfold and became the richest man in the Kuan Chung area.[72]

On the whole, the years of stability and peace under Wen and Ching provided for rapid economic development and the rise of the merchant class, despite some problems that accompanied them. As a result, except in times of natural calamities, every person and family had adequate supplies; granaries were full, and government treasuries overflowed with strings of cash. Horses and cattle were seen in streets and lanes or flocking in the fields. Everyone had a sense of self-respect and regarded breaking the law as a very serious matter; righteous behaviour was of paramount importance and shame and dishonour were left behind.[73]

The mercantile economy did bring about overall prosperity and raised the standard of living. However, the uncontrolled laissez-faire policy also created problems: worst of all was the increasing discrepancy between rich and poor. The landowning class and the large-scale merchants

benefitted most while the average peasant became their prey. Because the problem did not manifest itself immediately it was not dealt with quickly and was allowed to grow; some indirect measures, such as the sale of noble ranks in return for submissions of grain, were introduced to ameliorate the problem. Ssu-ma Ch'ien, who was not blind to the problem, reports:

> At this time, the net of the law was loose and the people were rich. Wealth that was accumulated from exploitation imperiously overflowed, in some cases to the extent of annexing that of the weaker. The rich and powerful families imposed their wishes on others in the countryside. The landed nobility, high officials and lesser government officers, competed with one another in luxury. There was no limit to the extent to which they mimicked the living quarters, the carriages, and the dress of their social superiors. However, when things develop to their peak, they decline; it is definitely their natural course.[74]

Ch'ao Ts'o was even more sensitive to the economic problems that encroached upon the poor peasants. In his memorial to Emperor Wen, he gave a very realistic portrayal of the discrepancy in lifestyle, as well as in wealth, between the rich and the poor:

> At the present time in a farmer's family of five members those who serve in corvée labour are not less than two. The field that they can cultivate is no more than one hundred mou (4.746 acres), and the yield from that hundred mou is no more than a hundred piculs. In the spring they plough; in summer they weed; in autumn they harvest; in winter they store; and in between they cut firewood, fix government buildings, and supply labour service. In spring they cannot avoid wind and dust; in summer they cannot escape steaming heat; in autumn they cannot evade clouds and rain; and in winter they cannot avoid chill and cold. Within the four seasons there is not one day that they can rest. Moreover, they have to attend to their own private matters, in accompanying those who depart and receiving those who arrive, mourning for the dead, consoling the sick, nurturing the orphans, and raising the young. Even though they work diligently and suffer this bitterly, they have to bear the further calamities of floods and droughts . . . . As a result,

> they have to sell their fields and houses, children and grandchildren in order to pay debts. While the large merchants accumulate and store up commodities so as to double their profits, the small ones sit in rows in marketplaces to sell their goods. In tending their rare articles they roam about daily in metropolitan areas. Taking advantage of the urgent needs of the people in high positions, they always double their price in selling their articles. Therefore, the men (from this merchant class) do not cultivate the fields and their women do not raise silkworms and weave; yet what they wear is always embroidered and colourful, and what they eat is always good grain and meat. Without undergoing the hardship of the farmers they obtain profits a hundred times or a thousand times (more than the farmers). Making use of their great wealth they make connections with feudal kings and marquises, and their influence and power exceed those of government officials . . . . They travel thousands of li . . . . ride in sturdy carriages and gallop well-fed horses . . . .This is how merchants annex (the property of) farmers, and how farmers come to be vagabonds. Although the law despises merchants, merchants have become rich and honoured. The law respects the farmers, yet the farmers have become poor and lowly . . . .[75]

Ch'ao Ts'o thus clearly reveals the extent to which the farmers were exploited by the merchants and how the wealth of the nobles passed into the hands of the merchants. The nobles, government officials, and the large-scale landlords, were ever desirous of the "rare" luxury goods manipulated by the merchants, and the crafts, products and grain produced by the farmers and craftsmen were also controlled by the merchants. Thus, wealth was increasingly transferred from the ruling class and the agrarian sector to the merchant class. As more peasants were driven into debt they were compelled to sell their land and property and become tenant farmers or labourers. In order to remedy the worsening situation, even though it was a slow process, the government interceded and stressed the value of grain, reduced and even abolished land tax and instituted the exchange of noble ranks for grain to assist the farmers.

In this way, the government did alleviate the problem to some degree, but it was still by no means solved. It was still the large-scale landowners and merchants who benefitted most from the policy, while the annexation of the lowly peasants by the "privileged class" continued. As mentioned earlier, the increase in the wealth of merchants and feudal kings was one of the major economic factors in causing the Rebellion of the Seven Kingdoms.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

In this dissertation, the extent and significance of Taoist influence on the early Han has been revealed. The range of its influence was indeed extensive--its effect was felt from the rulers "above" to the commoners "below." More importantly, the nature of Huang-Lao thought, which has hitherto never been explored, due to the lack of relevant materials, has now been clarified. It is precisely this Huang-Lao thought that provided the philosophical as well as practical basis for the successful operation of the early Han government. From the doctrine of hsing-ming, as promulgated by this particular school of Taoism, a realistic theory of government and an effective method of administration were derived to fulfill a concrete goal: a wu wei government that would bring rapid recovery and prosperity to the newly unified country, as well as a harmonious society, a goal that both the rulers and the masses aspired to. To a large extent, that goal was achieved; without it, the solid foundation and the enduring rule of the Han would not have been possible.

In the Warring States period, although the hundred schools differed in their social and political outlooks, all philosophers shared the urge to establish a virtuous, effective government in order to bring peace and happiness to humanity. The ideal, however, was never realized during their own time, in view of the fragmentation of the Warring States; people were scattered, and the unified Ch'in government was brought about by force and maintained by force. As a result, the masses were alienated from that government. It was not until the reigns of emperors Hui, Wen and Ching that a contented and harmonious state was finally brought into

being, however brief the existence of this near-Utopia may have been. It was during this period as well that a genuine unity between a centralized government and its subjects was also brought about, as the result of the concretization of Huang-Lao thought in political action, which met with extraordinary success as a coherent and inspiring approach to the art of government. Thus, Huang-Lao thought successfully presented a grand scheme for the proper governing of a country in a period of strife and instability.

Huang-Lao Taoism also provides the missing link between Legalism and Taoism. The Lao Tzu advocated wu wei in government, with the ultimate goal of achieving wu pu wei, but it does not discuss the manner in which such a goal can be accomplished, nor does it provide any concrete methodology for government and administration. The Ma-wang-tui texts offer detailed outlines for putting chaos to rights, by following the "way of heaven" or Tao, and by timely action. The early Han government exemplified the near-ideal implementation of Huang-Lao Taoism, as well as the concrete result of such implementation.

As the early Han government revealed, Huang-Lao is not the quietistic aspect of Taoism it is generally assumed to be. Huang-Lao doctrine, rather, provides instruction on basing action on objective quietude; that is, action takes place after careful observation of given circumstances and an understanding of their origin. Many of the important ministers of the early Han studied this doctrine and put it into practice; none of them exhibited either pacifism or anarchism in their attitudes towards government. Thus, the Taoist ministers ran their government with a Legalist bent, but without the rigidity and harshness usually associated with that school. Laws and regulations were laid out

and adhered to, but they were simplified, changed or even abolished outright when the occasion required it. Furthermore, emphasis was placed on the appointment of competent personnel and the correct assessment of situations. The Huang-Lao school has therefore demonstrated the soundness of its principles and methodology of government in all circumstances and all occasions, and has provided concrete guidelines for the governance and pacification of "all under heaven." The implementation of Huang-Lao teaching is not an easy matter; it requires cultivation, a profound understanding of both the sublime and the mundane, and a wide experience of the ways of the world. Only when these prerequisites are fulfilled is harmony in the "rhythms of nature" brought down to the realm of government and society. Laws and standards are intended to maintain balance (稱), and not to overburden and alienate the people. In fact, Huang-Lao thought may well have been the driving force behind the unification process that began towards the end of the Warring States period, and it was most certainly the driving force in the early Han's aim of building a strong, unified central government. At the level of the masses, the welcome shown to the naturalistic aspects of Taoist thought in the enhancement of universal harmony reflected the aspirations of the peasantry towards a romantic, nature-loving and carefree style of life. Again, such an aspiration was not fulfilled in the Warring States period, but, rather, in the early Han.

Although at times (after thirty or forty years of Han rule) the early Han era seemed a promising candidate for the title of "golden age", in which people live in prosperity and contentment, the minor but powerful sector of society that was not well-grounded in Taoist principles prevented a golden age from coming into full flower; instead,

subversive tendencies began to undermine the near-Utopia. From greed and unrestrained ambition, the residual feudal lords and the large-scale merchants abused their freedom and exploited the economic condition as far as they could. As a consequence, restraint, and even military action had to be resorted to in dealing with that sector. At the very beginning, the central government had aimed at establishing a proper economic order based on agriculture, and its strategy was to grant land to the tillers and to establish an equitable tax system for all, with an emphasis on decreasing, and at times eliminating altogether, the tax burden on farmers. Thus, the Han provided a far sounder basis for the country and the economy than did the Ch'in. While the Ch'in sought physical expansion for its own sake, the Han sought organizational expansion and consolidation for the benefit of all. The laissez-faire economic policy was a means to an end. The laissez-faire economy of the early Han differed from its counterpart in the West: the early Han was not a capitalist society; it was a centralized state, and the laissez-faire economy was still fundamentally agrarian. Agriculture was always valued and emphasized by the government. Although the use of money was becoming popular, its function was not capitalistic; it served merely as a convenient means of exchange, and value still lay with commodities only. In capitalism, this is not quite the case: exchange dominates value, and money, or capital, is emphasized.

Chinese economic history, therefore, developed very differently from that of the West. Because the centralized state was so powerful, whenever capitalism showed signs of developing it was always nipped in the bud. This phenomenon also contributed in part to dynastic cyclicality: when a centralized government is strong, the dynasty also is powerful

and enduring, but when a centralized government is weak, the dynasty, together with its administration and economy, will collapse, and thereby provide an opportunity for the next dynasty to take its place. The feudal lords and the merchant class made use of the laissez-faire economy to increase their own wealth and power, which led to an economic and political clash of interest with the central government. In the case of the rebellion of the seven kingdoms in the early Han, it was the rich and powerful who rebelled, not the poor peasants or the discontented outlaws. The power of a newly established dynasty must be supreme and unchallenged. Yet the concept of power in the early Han, as influenced by Huang-Lao thought, differs substantially from that of the Legalists (or, for that matter, from that of the Americans or Soviets as well). The Huang-Lao view of power is more comprehensive: power is the ability to bring about harmony, from the ruler to the masses and from the masses to the ruler, based on the order of heaven, or the principles of Tao.

The accomplishments of the early Han government reflect the desirability of the Taoist wu wei philosophy and the Huang-Lao art of government, which serve a high ideal by creating an environment conducive to the growth of the individual. When everyone is contentedly acting in accord with his nature, as Taoists would say, there is no need for a government to exist. A wu wei society is like a symphony orchestra: each individual merely plays his own instrument, with his entire being devoted to his own performance, from which results the subtle and complex beauty of a Mozart or Brahms symphony. Each individual selects his own favoured instrument, whether violin, pipe, drums or cello, and thereby fulfills himself, while at the same time "quietly and unconsciously" contributing to the common good. To change the metaphor, such a society will function harmoniously

and contentedly, and social evolution will take its own course, like a river that flows downstream: it does not need to be pushed. Chinese history would no doubt have taken a substantially different course had the Huang-Lao method of government persisted.

NOTES

Chapters I and II

Preliminary Note: In the course of research, several primary sources have been consulted frequently. For convenience' sake, they are written in full for the first time and abbreviated thereafter. Because the Shih Chi and the Han Shu are multi-volumed works, their contents are referred to by chapters and numbers of subdivisions. Due to the difficult nature of the texts, with their many titles, terms and classical phrases, many commentaries have been written by scholars past and present by way of elucidation. There are different editions of both works, with a number of different commentators, some dating back to the Sung and T'ang dynasties. It is a delight to researchers of the Han period or of ancient China that the Hong Kong branch of the Chung Hua Book Company printed a new edition that includes most of the important commentaries and corrections. For the present study, the newest edition of the Shih Chi, published in 1975, a reprint of the 1969 edition, is used. For the Han Shu, the latest 1975 edition, a third printing of the 1962 edition, published by the Peking branch of the Chung Hua Book Company, is used.

The works of contemporary scholars such as Takigawa Kametarō's Shih Chi Hui Chu K'ao Cheng, Yang Chia-lo's Present-day Explanatory Notes on the Shih Chi, Burton Watson's Records of the Grand Historian of China, Homer H. Dubs' The History of the Former Han Dynasty, and Nancy Lee Swann's Food and Money in Ancient China are extremely helpful. However, both Watson's and Dubs' translations are as yet incomplete. Some chapters in the Shih Chi that are important to this study have been omitted by Professor Watson, and Professor Dubs' three-volumed work of the Han Shu only provides translations of the sections on the emperors of the Former Han. Therefore, the Chung Hua Book Company's editions of the Shih Chi and Han Shu must be cross-referenced as they complement each other in providing a comprehensive history of the Han period. For example, the Shih Chi omits the Annals of Emperor Hui, whereas the Han Shu does not, while the accounts in the Han Shu are less lively and vivid than those of the Shih Chi.

[1]Shih Chi (Hong Kong: Chung Hua Book Company Press, 1975), chapter 68, No. 8 (hereafter abbreviated as S.C., 68/8.) Se also Han Shu (Peking: Chung Hua Book Company Press, 1975), chapter 24a, No. 4a (hereafter abbreviated as H.S., 24A/4a.)

[2]S.C., 55/25.

[3]Ibid., 55/25.

[4]Ibid., 17/5. Also, a decree was issued stipulating that no one outside of the Liu family could be enfeoffed as king. See H.S., 18/6.

[5]H.S., 24A/4a.

[6]Li I-chi, one of Liu Pang's advisors, was a native of Kao-yang in Ch'en-liu (in Honan Province). Although very poor, he loved to read and became an accomplished scholar. Lofty of character, he would not serve the petty-minded or the vain, influential nobles, and thus withdrew. He was called "the Crazy Scholar" or "Master Li" by people in his district.

See S.C., 97/37.

[7]S.C., 97/37. Here the translation from Professor Watson's work has been adopted. Burton Watson, Records of the Grand Historian of China (2 vols.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), I, p. 272. (Hereafter abbreviated as Watson, Records, I, p. 272.)

[8]H.S., 24A/4a. In the S.C. another account describes the socio-economic condition of the time. Inflation at one point drove the price of rice up to 10,000 cash per picul and the price of one horse was 100 catties of gold. S.C., 30/8, Treatise on Balanced Standard. Cf. H.S., 24B/4b, Accounts on Food and Goods. See also Nancy Swann, Food and Money in Ancient China (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), p. 93.

[9]S.C., 30/8.

[10]H.S., 24A/4a.

[11]Ibid., 16/4.

[12]Liang Chi-chao, The Complete Cafe Anthology (Taipei: Hsin Hing Book Company, March, 1967), pp. 188-193. The census for 2 A.D. was available; 12,233,062 households and 59,594,978 individuals. The figures in Professor Michael Loewe's Imperial China, p. 193, coincide exactly with Liang's figures. Probably they are both from the same source.

[13]S.C., 7/7.

[14]S.C., 129/69.

[15]H.S., 1A/1a.

[16]Ibid., 1B/1b.

[17]Ibid., 1B/1b.

[18]Ibid., 2/2. Han law prescribed that each person had to pay one poll-tax of 120 cash (copper coins). Merchants with slaves had to pay two poll-taxes. Unmarried girls between the ages of 15 and 30 were taxed 5 times as much so as to pressure them to become wives and mothers. According to Liu Pin (1022-1088), those girls were not punished all at once with this amount. Between the ages of 15 and 30 there were five stages of five years each. One poll-tax was added to each stage until a girl was married. See footnote 1 in Homer Dubs, The History of the Former Han Dynasty (3 vols., Baltimore: Waverly Press, Inc., 1938), I, p. 184.

[19]Ibid., 2/2.

[20]S.C., 129/69.

[21]H.S., 24B/4b.

[22]Ibid., 24B/4b.

[23]In Western philosophy, nominalism can mean just "in name only," i.e., lacking objective existence. In the Chinese context, nominalism would mean that names and the named should conform to each other; i.e. let a table be a table, a father a father, and a king a king. A king should perform the duties and the role of a king, not those of his ministers and thus bearing the empty title of a king only. Hsing-ming 刑名 is the term used by the Chinese.

[24]S.C., 63/3.

[25]Tao Teh Ching, chapter 37.

[26]Ibid., Chapter 38.

[27]Due to the influence of the thoughts of the "Hundred Schools" of the time, the idea of having one unified country under one government (what they called 天下一家, "all under heaven is one family") was taking shape in the minds of the kings and princes. This idea was the invisible force pushing the contending states to overpower one another in order to take the lead to rule "all under heaven."

[28]Tao Teh Ching, Chapter 19.

[29]S.C., 130/70.

[30]Two different versions of the Lao Tzu with two different writing styles were excavated at the Ma-wang-tui Hang Tomb No.3.

[31]Please refer to p.18 of this thesis.

[32]The term Huang-Lao, 黃老, was used by Ssu-ma Ch'ien to trace the lineage of those thinkers and statesmen. Please see S.C. 63/3, The Biographies of Shen Pu-hai, Han Fei, and also 54/24, 56/26, the Hereditary House of Prime Ministers Ts'ao and Ch'en.

[33]H.S., 30/10

[34]Chou Shao-hsien, "The Function and Influence of Taoism in the Western Han Dynasty," The National Chengchi University Journal, Vol. 26, Dec., 1972, p. 87. Please see S.C., 80/20.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Tao Teh Ching, chapter 73.

[37]Ibid., chapter 42.

[38]John Wu, Tao Teh Ching (New York: St. John's University Press, 1961), p. 111.

[39]Ko Mo-jo, Ten Critical Essays (on early Chinese history) (Peking: The Science Press, 1962), pp. 155-158. The Lao Tzu, its authorship, and the person of Lao Tzu as a historical figure, have all been a controversy. Professor Ch'ien Mu supports the idea that Lao Tzu was a figure in the Warring States period instead of in the Ch'un Ch'iu period.

[40]The five mountains are Mt. Hua (華山), Mt. Shou (首山), Mt. the Great Chamber (太室山), Mt. T'ai (泰山), and Mt. Tung-lai (東萊山).

[41]S.C., 28/6.

[42]Ko Mo-jo, Ten Critical Essays, p. 152.

[43]S.C., 46/16.

[44]In the State of Ch'i there were three Tsou Tzu. The first one was Tsou Chi, 騶忌, in the time of King Wei 齊威王, and before the time of Mencius. He was a politician who knew music thoroughly. The second was the better known Tsou Yen, 騶衍, a Yin-yangist, later than Mencius and contemporary with T'ien P'ien 田駢, Shen T'ao 愼到, and Huan yüan 環淵, during the time of King Hsuan 齊宣王. The third was Tsou Shih 騶奭, a contemporary of Tsou Yen and a Yin-yangist also. See S.C., 74/14.

[45]S.C., 74/14.

[46]Modern scholars like Hsu Fu-kuan, Ko Mo-jo, Ch'ien Mu, Lü Ssu-mien, and Chou Shao-hsien all mention the influence of the learned men from the Chih-hsia Academy.

[47]S.C., 47/17 and 74/14.

[48]Ibid., 32/2.

[49]Ibid., 32/2.

[50]Ibid., 32/2.

[51]Ibid., 33/3.

[52]Ibid., 33/3.

[53]Ibid., 33/3.

[54]Chou Shao-hsien, The Philosophy of the Former Han and the Later Han (Taipei: Wen-ching Publishing Co., 1972), p. 10.

[55]S.C., 80/20.

[56]Ibid., 80/20.

[57]Chou Shao-hsien, "The Function and Influence of Taoism in the Western Han Dynasty," The National Chengchi University Journal, vol. 26, Dec., 1972, p. 98.

[58]S.C., 8/8.

[59]Tao Teh Ching, chapter 30.

[60]To be searched later.

[61]S.C., 55/25.

[62]Tao Teh Ching, chapters 28 and 68.

[63]These four old men were respectfully addressed as the four white-haired gentlemen of Mt. Shang (商山四皓). Professor Homer Dubs treated them as "outstanding Confucians" in his book The History of the Former Han Dynasty, p. 22. I suspect that this was a mistake, because judging from their names and titles, and their brief biographies given in the notes of the Hereditary House of the Marquis of Liu, they appear to be Taoists. Master Tung-yüan 東園公 was so named because he was living in a private garden. Gentleman Chiao-li 甪里先生 had the Taoist name Yuan-tao 元道 ; his other name is Shu 術 which has a Legalist-Yin-yangist connotation. Master Hsia-huang 夏黃公 was definitely a Taoist, since he was from the State of Ch'i, which produced most of the Taoists, and led a hermit's life at Hsia-li 夏里 to cultivate the Tao. Please see S.C., 55/25. Also cf. Uchiyama's article which expresses the same belief that these four old men were followers of Huang-Lao. Toshihiko Uchiyama, "An Aspect of Taoism in the Beginning of Han Period II", Journal of the Literary Society of Yamaguchi University, vol. XIV, no. 1, 1963, pp. 37-51, please refer to note 58 also.

[64]Burton Watson, Records, I, p. 149. The whole story is told in S.C., 55/25.

[65]H.S., 1B/1b

[66]Ibid., 2/2.

[67]Ibid., 2/2. In Ch'in times it was quite often the case that when one family member committed a crime, the rest of the family members were punished also.

[68]Ibid., 2/2.

[69]Ibid., 2/2.

[70]S.C., 9/9.

[71]Ibid., 9/9.

[72]H.S., 3/3.

[73]Ibid., 94A/64a.

[74]S.C., 9/9.

[75]Ibid., 10/10. See also H.S., 4/4. Emperor Wen at first refused to select an heir-apparent from among his sons. He pointed out that the Kings of Ch'u, Wu, and Huai-nan were all virtuous and sagely, and should be his successors. But again, the ministers demurred and urged him to select one of his sons.

[76]H.S., 88/58.

[77]S.C., 49/19.

[78]H.S., 88/58.

[79]Ssu-ma T'an died in 110 B.C. after serving as Grand Historian for about thirty years. See The Style and Character of Ssu-ma Ch'ien (Taipei: Kai-ming Book Company, 1976), p. 29 and p. 32. Note: The author of this book is not revealed because it was originally written in the People's Republic of China and thus not permitted in circulation in Taiwan. However, the Kai-ming Book Company bypassed this regulation by removing the name of the author.

[80]S.C., 130/70.

[81]Ibid., 130/70.

[82]Ibid., 130/70.

[83]K'ang Li in his article "The Time and Thought of the Shih Ta Ching" in Li-shi Yan-jiu (歷史研究), No. 3, 1975, pp. 81-85, claims that the character 十 in the title of the manuscript does not mean ten (because there are more than ten essays). Rather, the two strokes should be taken apart with the horizontal line 一 meaning east-west, and the vertical line 丨 meaning north-south, thus giving the four cardinal directions with the intersecting point as the controlling centre. However, such an interpretation is Mr. K'ang's conjecture. The second character 大 could have been a mistake in discerning the blurred ink writing due to age and burial. It is more likely that the character 大 was 六 instead. There are fifteen essays in this unearthed manuscript and one may be missing. In this dissertation the title for this silk manuscript is adopted as Shih-liu-ching and not Shih Ta Ching.

[84]Kao Heng and Chi Hei-chiao, "An Attempt to Discover the Silk Manuscript of Lao Tzu in the Han Tomb of Ma Wang Tui," The Silk Manuscripts of Lao Tzu (Peking: Wen Wu Publishing Company, 1976), p. 111.

[85]Ibid., p. 111.

[86]The Committee on the Processing of the Ma-wang-tui Han Tomb Silk Manuscripts, ed., The Silk Manuscripts of Ching-fa (Peking: Wen Wu Publishing Co., 1976), p. 1.

[87]K'ang Li, "The Time and Thought of Shih Ta Ching," Li-shi Yan-jiu (歷史研究), No. 3, 1975, p. 83.

[88]Shih-liu-ching in The Silk Manuscripts of Ching-fa (Peking: Wen Wu Publishing Company., 1976), p. 88.

[89]Ch'eng 稱 in The Silk Manuscripts of Ching-fa, pp. 89-90.

[90]Tao Yüan in The Silk Manuscripts of Ching-fa, p. 102.

[91]S.C., 9/9.

[92]Ibid., 10/10. See also H.S., 4/4.

[93]H.S., 4/4.

[94]There is no English equivalent for this Chinese measurement of capacity. Medium-sized kernels of black millet of 1200 kernels will fill a yo 龠. Two yo is a ko 合, and ten ko become a sheng 升. Ten sheng is a tou 斗, and ten tou is a hu 斛. Five tou is almost ten litres. These were the five standard instruments for measuring capacity. Please see Dubs, The History of the Former Han Dynasty, Appendix I, pp. 276-280.

[95]H.S., 4/4. See also S.C., 10/10.

[96]Ibid., 4/4.

[97]Ibid., 4/4.

[98]Ibid., 4/4.

[99]Ibid., 4/4.

[100]Ibid., 4/4.

[101]Ibid., 4/4. See also S.C., 10/10.

[102]Ibid., 4/4.

[103]Ibid., 4/4.

[104]Ibid., 4/4.

[105]Ibid., 95/65. Given the military strength of the Han at the time, Emperor Wen could have subdued Chao T'o quite easily, but he did not entertain such a policy. His letter to Chao T'o and the latter's reply are among the masterpieces of Chinese literature, and are exquisite and elegant in both content and style.

[106]Ibid., 4/4. The fact behind this incident was that Liu P'i's son was killed by accident in a game with Emperor Wen's heir-apparent. Liu P'i then feigned illness and refused to attend court at Chang-an, an act tantamount to rebellion. Since Liu P'i was treated with kindness by Emperor Wen, he did not rebel during Emperor Wen's lifetime and later

rebelled by instigating and joining forces with six other kings three years after Emperor Ching's enthronement.

[107]Ibid., 4/4.

[108]Ibid., 4/4.

[109]According to Confucian rites, all these practices should be prohibited. Instead of three days of mourning as suggested by Emperor Wen, the mourning period for a Confucian follower could be extended as long as three years.

[110]There were seven titles for palace ladies below the empress. They were in the order of Ladies 夫人, or concubines of the emperor, Beauties 美人, Fine Ladies 良人, The Eighth Rank Ladies 八子, The Seventh Rank Ladies 七子, the Senior Maids 長使, and the Junior Maids 少使.

[111]S.C., 10/10.

[112]Li Chih, The Hidden Writing (on History) 藏書 (4 vols.; Peking: Chung Hua Book Co., 1974), I, p. 35.

[113]Watson, Records, p. 366.

[114]The first time was in the fourth month of his first year of reign; the second was in the first month of his third year of reign; the third was in the sixth month of his fourth year of reign; the fourth was in the fourth month of his eighth year of reign; the fifth time was in the sixth month of his twelfth year of reign; and the final time was in the third month of his fourteenth year of reign. See H.S., 5/5.

[115]H.S., 5/5.

[116]Ibid., 5/5.

[117]Ibid., 5/5.

[118]S.C., 11/11.

[119]Ibid., 11/11. These two accounts are not given in the H.S.

[120]H.S., 5/5. This edict was not included in the S.C.

[121]S.C., 11/11. Not given in H.S.

[122]Ibid., 11/11.

[123]H.S., 5/5. Also found in S.C., 11/11.

[124]Ibid., 5/5. See also Dubs, The History of the Former Han Dynasty, pp. 328-329.

[125]Ibid., 5/5. See also Dubs, The History of the Former Han Dynasty, p. 332. These two edicts were not recorded by Ssu-ma Ch'ien.

[126]Ibid., 5/5.

[127]Confucius meant that the people of his time were the same as those under the Hsia, Shang and Chou dynasties, during which, because of the government's cultural influence, purity and unity, the people could follow a straight path in their actions. Confucius lamented that at his time the conditions were not so.

[128]H.S., 5/5.

[129]S.C., 121/61.

[130]Ibid., 121/61.

[131]H.S., 88/58. See also H.S. 51/22.

Chapter III

[1]H.S., 30/10. 藝文志列有"黃帝說"四十篇,屬小說家,兵陰陽家有"黃帝"十六篇,陰陽家有"黃帝陰陽"及"黃帝諸子論陰陽"各二十五篇。

[2]H.S., 30/10, and S.C., 63/3

[3]Tao Te Ching, chapter 25.

[4]Ching-fa (Peking: Wen Wu Publishing Co., 1976) Please see chapters on 觀 and 雄雄節, pp. 48-50 and 68-69.

[5]Adapted from A.C. Graham's "The Nung-chia 農家 'School of the Tillers' and the Origins of Peasant Utopianism in China," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, U. of London, vol. XLII, Part I, 1979, p. 75.

[6]S.C., 63/3.

[7]Ching-fa, p. 2.

[8]Ibid., p. 2.

[9]Ibid., pp. 1-2.

[10]Ibid., pp. 2-3.

[11]H.S., 4/4, and 5/5, Annals of Emperors Wen and Ching.

[12]Ching-fa, p. 13.

[13]Ibid., p. 22.

[14]Ibid., pp. 27-29.

[15]Ibid., p. 50 and p. 71, in 觀 and 兵容.

[16]Ibid., p. 39.

[17]Ibid., p. 73.

[18]Ibid., p. 89.

[19]Wei-ming Tu, "The Thought of 'Huang-Lao': A Reflection on the Lao Tzu and Huang Ti Texts in the Silk Manuscripts of Ma-Wang-Tui," The Journal of Asian Studies, vol. XXXIX, no. 1, Nov., 1979, pp. 107-8.

Chapter IV

[1]Tang Lan, "A Study of the Lost Ancient Texts Found Prefixed to the Lao Tzu (Version B) Unearthed at Ma-wang-tui," in Ching-fa (Peking: Wen Wu Publication Company, 1975), p. 159.

[2]S.C., 63/13.

[3]Han Fei Tzu, 13/7b-8a

[4]H.G. Creel, Shen Pu-hai (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), pp. 68-69. For the Chinese text please see Shen Pu-hai, 17/2.

[5]Ibid., pp. 63-64.

[6]Ching-fa, p. 102, Tao: The Origin.

[7]Ibid., p. 101, Tao: The Origin.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Ibid., p. 89, Ch'eng.

[10]Ibid., p. 73, Cheng-fa.

[11]Ibid., p. 57, Kuo-tung.

[12]Ibid., pp. 60-61, Cheng-luan.

[13]Ibid., p. 29, Lun.

[14]Ibid., p. 24, Ssu-tu.

[15]Ibid., p. 39, Lun-yueh.

[16]Ibid., p. 3, Tao-fa.

[17]Ibid., p. 2, Tao-fa.

[18]Professor Jan Yün-hua has written a beautiful article expounding on the concepts of Tao, principle, and law, and their inter-relationship; see Jan Yün-hua, "Tao, Principle and Law: The Three Key Concepts in the Yellow Emperor Taoism", Journal of Chinese Philosophy, vol. 7, no. 3, Sept., 1980, pp. 205-228.

[19]The translation is adopted from Jan Yün-hua's article quoted above, pp. 213-214. For the original text in Chinese, please see Ching-fa, p. 42.

[20]Ibid., p. 214.

[21]Ibid., p. 214.

Chapter V

[1]Another in Chinese history who encountered similar difficulties was Wang An-shih in the later Sung dynasty. Wang An-shih had insight into the problems of the Sung government and his proposed reforms were good ones. However, he failed because he did not have the support of his colleagues and other officials. Had Chang Liang been in his position, the Sung dynasty could have been saved.

[2]S.C., 7/7.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Tao Teh Ching, chapter 5. The word "impartially" is used to convey the meaning of the verse. The term actually used is "straw dogs" 芻狗, which were sacrificial objects used in ancient ceremonies. At the end of the ceremony the straw dog was thrown away without any sentimental attachment as if it was a non-entity.

[5]S.C., 55/25.

[6]Chia-lo Yang, Present-day Interpretation of the Shih Chi (Taipei: Cheng Chung Book Company, 1971), p. 105, note 10.

[7]S.C., 55/25.

[8]Professor B. Watson translated the title of the book as "The Grand Duke's Art of War" on p. 135 of his book. But the word kung 公 in this context should not be rendered as duke, but rather as a respectful term for an accomplished person. Lü Hsiang 呂尚 or Grand Master Wang 太公望, as mentioned in an earlier chapter, was never ennobled as a duke like the Marquis of Chou. He was enfeoffed as the Marquis of Ch'i in the area of Lü, but he did not begin his career until he was in his eighties and had served two Chou kings, Wen and Wu (文王, 武王) as the National Master. Because of his advanced age, though still mentally alert and vigorous, he was respectfully addressed as Grand Master 太公.

[9]This episode is recorded in the first part of the Hereditary House of the Marquis of Liu, S.C., 55/25.

[10]Detailed research on this book has been done by Hsiu-chih Wang, entitled A Study on the Plain Book and The Three Schemes of Master Yellow Stone (Taipei: The Commercial Press, 1970).

[11]Shih Ku, Commentaries on The Treatise on The Six Arts and Literature of the Han Shu (Taipei: Kuang-wen Book Co. Ltd., 1970), p. 117 and p. 215. 顧實，漢書藝文志講疏 (台北：廣文書局有限公司，1970).

[12]王秀芝，黃石公素書三略的研究(台北：商務印書館，1970), p. 2. Hsiu-chih Wang, A Study on the Plain Book and The Three Schemes of Master Yellow Stone (Taipei: The Commercial Press, 1970), p. 2. See also H.S., 40/10, the commentary by Yen Shih-ku on Master Yellow Stone's dress.

[13]Burton Watson, Records of the Grand Historian of China, p. 134.

[14]S.C., 55/25.

[15]Ibid., 55/25.

[16]Ibid., 7/7, the last part.

[17]Ibid., 55/25, towards the end.

[18]Hsiu-chih Wang, A Study on the Plain Book and the Three Schemes of Master Yellow Stone, pp. 59-61, 76.

[19]Tao Teh Ching, chapter 28.

[20]Ibid., chapter 41.

[21]Ibid., chapter 43.

[22]Ibid., chapter 68.

[23]S.C., 7/7.

[24]Ibid., 7/7.

[25]Ibid., 55/25, the last part.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Burton Watson, Records of the Grand Historian of China, I, p. 151.

[28]Ibid., p. 151. Tzu-yü was one of Confucius' disciples who was ugly in appearance but very virtuous in character. Therefore, Confucius reminded people that if he judged a person by his looks alone, he would have made a grave mistake.

[29]Tao Teh Ching, chapter 77.

[30]Ibid., chapter 44.

[31]S.C., 56/26, end of the chapter.

[32]Ibid., the beginning of the chapter.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Ibid. Two prime ministers (Left and Right) had been the practice of Ch'in, whose purpose was to reduce the political power of a single position. In Ch'in times, the Prime Minister of the Left had more authority, whereas in the Han, the Prime Minister of the Right held more. In this case and at this time, the position of Ch'en P'ing was more that of an assistant prime minister.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Burton Watson, Records of the Grand Historian of China, I, p. 167.

[48]S.C., 56/26.

[49]B. Watson, Records of the Grand Historian of China, I, p. 167.

[50]S.C., 53/23.

[51]Ibid.

[52]Ibid.

[53]Ibid.

[54]Ibid.

[55]Ibid.

[56]S.C., 92/32.

[57]S.C., 53/23.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Tao Teh Ching, chapters 9, 20, 22, 44, 59.

[60]S.C., 54/24.

[61]Ibid.

[62]Ibid. It is not that the master would be tempted by the great sum of money to render his services. The impressive gifts represented a token of honour and respect shown to the guest by his host.

[63]S.C., 54/24.

[64]Ibid.

[65]Ibid.

[66]Ibid.

[67]In Chinese, this phrase is 垂拱 , a Taoist term applied in government meaning that the ruler just lets his sleeves hang and folds his hands inside without having to do anything in government because all things, of themselves, are done by their respective and appropriate levels of performance. All he has to do is to open his ears and eyes to see that all levels of things are performing their roles. It is also a stage of wu wei borrowed and advocated by the Legalists as the most efficient and desirable.

[68]S.C., 54/24.

[69]Chian-fu Ch'en, New Annals of the Two Han (Taipei: The New Confucian Correspondent School, 1976), p. 80.

[70]S.C., 54/24.

[71]Ibid.

[72]S.C. 97/37. H.S. 43/13 gives the same account.

[73]Ibid.

[74]Ibid. In the Treatise on the Six Arts and Literature of the Han Shu recorded under the Confucian School are the twenty-three chapters of Lu Chia's work which are not included in the work New Discourses. In the fourth chapter on wu wei in the New Discourses are some verses which are similar both in content and in style to those in the Lao Tzu: "When the affairs (from the above, i.e. government) are more entangled, those below will be more chaotic. The more multiplied the laws are, the more vices will spring up." Professor Hsü Fu-kua points out that Lu Chia wrote the New Discourses out of his retrospection into his experiences in witnessing

the rise and fall of the Ch'in and Han. Lu based his viewpoint on the concrete advantageous play of politics and not on the moral issue of whether an action should be taken or not. See Hsü Fu-kuan, Intellectual History of the Two Han (Taipei: The Student Book Co., 1976), p. 93.

[75]Watson, Records of the Great Historian of China, p. 229.

[76]S.C., 97/37, pp. 2700-2701. A more detailed story is in Ch'en P'ing part.

[77]H.S., 48/18: Also S.C., 84/24. The H.S. devotes a much longer account to Chia I because his memoranda to Emperor Wen are included. Rich in sentiment and highly sensitive, Ssu-ma Ch'ien is unconventional in including Chia I in the same chapter as Ch'ü Yüan (屈原), a great statesman and poet from the State of Ch'u in the Warring States period, thereby breaking the chronological order of his biographical section. Because of their similar fates, and Chia I's respect and sympathy for Ch'ü Yüan, Ssu-ma Ch'ien, in empathy, groups the two together despite their hundred year gap. In their biographies, Ssu-ma Ch'ien records their odes together, because, while Ch'ü Yüan was the exponent of Ch'u literary culture (especially in odes of the Ch'u style), Chia I was the initiator of the odes of the Han which succeeded in lineage from those of Ch'u.

[78]H.S., 48/18.

[79]S.C., 84/24. The odes of both Ch'ü Yüan and Chia I are exalted literary pieces in Chinese literature, each exemplifying the odes of his respective era.

[80]Ibid.

[81]H.S., 48/18.

[82]Ibid. The contents of the memorials will be discussed later.

[83]Ibid.

[84]Ibid.

[85]I Yun (伊尹) was the famous, virtuous and capable prime minister of the early Shang, who consolidated the dynasty, and Kuan Chung (管仲) was the "honourable guest" and advisor to Duke Huan of Ch'i, who helped Duke Huan (齊桓公) in establishing his hegemony in the Spring and Autumn period.

[86]H.S., 48/18.

[87]Ibid.

[88]Ibid. This part of Chia I's 治安策 Schemes for (Lasting) Peaceful Governing is probably derived from Chuang Tzu's chapter on 庖丁解牛 The Chef Dismembering a Cow. Chia I's memorials are not included in the Shih Chi.

[89]Ibid.

[90]Ibid.

[91]I Chia, "New Writings (The Introduction)," Ssu Pu Pei Yao (四部備要, 子部), section III, Tzu Pu, vol. 5, 8, 28.

[92]Ibid., chapter 8, "On the Technique of Tao." (道術篇).

[93]In presenting this analogy, Chia I obviously had absorbed the thought of Chuang Tzu, the first Chinese thinker who used the mirror as an analogy for the state of mind of the perfect man and the sage. See Chuang Tzu's chapter on "The Tao (Way) of Heaven," 天道篇, and another chapter, "Manifestation of the Sagely King," 應帝王.

[94]I Chia, "New Writings", Ssu Pu Pei Yao (四部備要,子部), section III, Tzu Pu, vol. 5, 8, 28. Chapter 8, "On the Technique of Tao," pp. 3-4.

[95]Ibid., chapter 3, "On Antagonizing Common Practice," 俗激, pp. 1-2.

[96]H.S., 48/18.

[97]I Chia, "New Writings," Ssu Pu Pei Yao (四部備要,子部), chapter 9, "On Great Governing", the upper half, pp. 1-4.

[98]H.S., 48/18.

[99]I Chia, "New Writings," chapter 5, "On Protecting and Tutoring the Heir-Apparent"保傅, pp. 3-5.

[100]The Chinese zither or lute was a single hollow piece of wood mounted with silk strings which was designed to play music for the cultivated mind and for meditation. Here the effect of lute music on the queen was twofold: it calmed and soothed the mind of the queen during her pregnancy, and trained the fetus to develop a spiritual mind.

[101]I Chia, "New Writings," chapter 10, "On Fetus Teaching", 胎教, pp. 3-5.

[102]Ibid., chapter 8, "On Officials of Men," 官人, pp. 1-2.

[103]Ibid., pp. 1-2.

[104]S.C., 101/41.

[105]H.S., 49/19. The S.C. does not mention the appointment of Ch'ao as Erudite.

[106]Ibid.

[107]S.C., 101/41.

[108]Ibid.

[109]Ibid.

[110]H.S., 49/19.

[111]"Miscellaneous Collection of the Hundred Schools of Classics and History", Ssu Pu Pei Yao (四部備要,集部,經史百家雜鈔), section IV, Chi Pu, vol. 116, part 2, Memorials I, pp. 19-20.

[112]Ibid. The Tao Teh Ching also has this saying: "The way of Heaven is to diminish the excessive and supplement the inadequate," in chapter 77. 天之道，損有餘而補不足。

[113]H.S., 4/4. Please see section on Emperor Wen in the previous chapter of this dissertation.

[114]"Miscellaneous Collection of the Hundred Schools of Classics and History", Ssu Pu Pei Yao (四部備要，集部，經史百家雜鈔), section IV, Chi Pu, vol. 116, part 2, Memorials I, pp. 18-19.

[115]Ibid., p. 22.

[116]Ibid.

Chapter VI

[1]H.S., 1A/1a.

[2]S.C., 99/39.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid., 53/23.

[5]Ibid., 54/24.

[6]Feng Shan Sacrifices 封禪 were solemn ceremonies performed by emperors who had received the Mandate of Heaven. Two sets of ceremonies were involved. The first was Feng 封, in which the Son of Heaven had to climb up to the top of a high mountain, build an altar from the mountain soil, then offer his sacrificial objects to heaven on that altar. He then descended the mountain to perform the Shan 禪 ceremony on a small hill for the purpose of thanking the god of the earth and the spirits of mountains and rivers. Feng and Shan were usually performed on top of Mount T'ai (泰山) and on a small hill below Mount T'ai. These ceremonies were said to have been performed by the sagely rulers of Fu Hsi 伏羲, Sheng Nung 神農, and the Yellow Emperor (Huang-ti). After the unification of China, Ch'in Shih Huang-ti also performed the ceremonies to confirm that he was the emperor approved by heaven. Han-Wu-ti, and his retinue of officials, performed these Feng Shan sacrifices to confirm that he was performing his duty as a kingly ruler approved by heaven and earth. Ssu-ma Ch'ien devotes a whole chapter on Feng Shan with the intention of indirectly mocking Wu-ti's superstition.

[7]Chia Lu, "New Discourses," Ssu Pu Pei Yao (四部備要,子部), section III, Tzu Pu, vol. 27, upper chapter, pp. 6-7.

[8]Ibid., lower chapter, p. 3.

[9]I Chia, "New Writings," Ssu Pu Pei Yao (四部備要,子部), section III, Tzu Pu, vol. 5, 8, 28, Middle and Lower chapter of "Counting the Faults of Ch'in," pp. 5-6.

[10]Ibid., chapter on "The Strong Feudal Kingdoms," pp. 10-11.

[11]H.S., 4/4.

[12]"Miscellaneous Collection of the Hundred Schools of Classics and History," Ssu Pu Pei Yao (四部備要,集部), section IV, Chi Pu, vol. 116, part 2, Memorials I, p. 13.

[13]Ibid., pp. 19-20.

[14]Ibid., pp. 19-20.

[15]Ibid., pp. 21-22.

[16]S.C., 160/46.

[17]Ibid., 160/46.

[18]H.S., 53/23. Details of the treatment of the feudal kings are given in this chapter.

[19]S.C., 30/8 and 12/12.

[20]Kuo-hsiang, "Commentary on the Chuang Tzu" in Collected Explanatory Notes on the Chuang Tzu (Taipei: The China Book Co., 1973), p. 247.

[21]According to the "Table of the Hundred Officials and High Ministers" in the Han Shu, the government officials below the prime minister totalled only 120,285. This number is very small considering the size and demographics of the empire. Compared with all other dynasties, the Former Han had the least number of civil servants. Its effectiveness must be attributed to the government's selection and recommendation of capable and pious individuals to fill government posts and the fact that these officials were given the opportunity to express and develop their talents and potential. It was this selection process that later developed into the famous civil examination system to draw capable people to serve in government. 汉书百官公卿表.

[22]Kan Lao, "Some Characteristics of the Political Organization of the Han Dynasty," Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies, New Series VIII, Nos. 1 and 2, Taipei, Aug., 1970, p. 245.

Chapter VII

[1]Liang Chi-chao, The Complete Café Anthology (Pt. A; Taipei: Hsin Hing Book Company, 1967), p. 193. During the war-plagued Han era, there was no census taken, and the registration records of households were, for the most part, destroyed by the wars. According to the Annals of Ch'in and the Table of the Six States, during the thirteen years of war ending in the final destruction of the six states, the total number decapitated

by the Ch'in was over 1,200,000, which did not include the Ch'in troops killed during the wars and the soldiers killed by the six states themselves in their battles with one another. Estimated in this way, the total number killed after the unification of the Ch'in amounts to over two million. Still, the Ch'in was able to marshall an army of 400,000 to fight the Hsiung-nu, another 500,000 to guard the five strategic ranges, and 700,000 to construct the horse passageway in the region of Mount Li (驪山). During the struggle between Liu Pang and Hsiang Yü, several million troops from either side were killed. By the time Liu Pang was beseiged by the Hsiung-nu at the fort of P'ing Ch'eng (平城), he could only muster 300,000 soldiers. Pan Ku records that after Liu's victory, the population of all the major cities had been reduced to only 20 to 30% of their original number. (H.S. chapter 16). Therefore, failing other methods, the population at the beginning of the Han can be roughly estimated at five to six million. The figure is not meant to be a close estimate, but it offers some means of comparison with other periods. In A.D. 2, at the end of the Former Han, official records show a population of 12,233,062 households, which was calculated to be 59,594,978 individuals with an average of 4.87 per household. Please refer to chapter 4, "The Statistics of Population in Chinese History," The Complete Collection of the Café Miscellany, pp. 188-197.

[2] S.C., 30/8, and H.S., 24B/4b. The severe inflation was also attributed to the depreciation of the currency. At the beginning of the Han, the old Ch'in coinage was abandoned due to its weight, weighing twelve shu (十二銖), or half a tael (半兩) equivalent to 7.63 grams; people were allowed to mint Elm-pod coins which weighed only three shu (榆莢錢, 重三銖).

[3] H.S., 1B/1b.

[4] S.C., 30/8.

[5] In the fifth year of Emperor Ching's reign, the feudal kings were forbidden to govern their states. H.S., 19A/7a.

[6] H.S., 19A, Table of the Hundred High Ministers and Officials. Please see also H.S., 13/1 - 16/4 and S.C., 17, Chronological Tables of the Various Feudal Kings and Marquises Since the Rise of the Han. These tables give very detailed accounts of all the feudal lords, their merits, ranks, location of domains, number of households, and the termination of their enfeoffment.

[7] H.S., 14/2.

[8] H.S., 28A/8a, and 28B/8b. This number is arrived at by calculating the number of commanderies given in these two chapters on Han Geography which include a detailed account of each commandery, its population, the area covered, and the time it was established. Emperors Wen and Ching each added six additional commanderies. After Emperor Wu's expansionist campaigns, twenty-eight more commanderies were added.

[9] H.S., 19A/7a. The titles of Chün Shou (郡守, Prefectural Governor), and Chün Wei (郡尉, Prefectural Military Commander) were the former Ch'in

titles. They were changed in Emperor Ching's time to Tai Shou (太守) and T'u Wei (都尉). The difference between Hsien Ling (縣令) and Hsien Chang (縣長, District Magistrate) is that a Hsien Ling would apply to those who had over 10,000 households within their districts, whereas a Hsien Chang would only apply to those who had less than 10,000 households.

[10]H.S., 19A/7a. If for every 10 t'ing 亭 there was one hsiang 鄉, then there should be 66,220 t'ing instead of 29,635. The reason is probably that only the more densely populated areas and the important commanderies are counted this way, whereas the peripheral areas are omitted from such a calculation. In the passage quoted, the post of yu-chih 有秩, has not been explained. According to the Great Chinese Japanese Dictionary, (大汉和辞典, 卷十之卷), Vol. 5, p. 1031, the post of yu-chih is given charge of the revenue of a hsiang. If a hsiang is composed of 5,000 households, the yu-chih is installed to keep its accounts. Thus the yu-chih is the equivalent of an accountant for a hsiang of 5,000 households.

It is also necessary to point out here that t'ing 亭 was not a unit based on flat area such as the hsien and hsiang. It was linear, based on distance, and serving the purpose of providing a resting place for government postal dispatchers as well as passers-by. It also served to facilitate collection of land taxes and land registration. The Chief of t'ing 亭長 was also expected to assist the Yu-chiao 游徼 to maintain law and order.

[11]H.S., 28B/8b, Treatise on Geography. The conversion of Chinese miles (li 里) to English miles is based on Nancy Swann's calculations. Swann figured that before 155 B.C., when the acre was officially enlarged, 100 li was equal to 29.9545+ English miles. N. Swann, Food and Money in Ancient China (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), p. 363.

[12]S.C., 53/23.

[13]H.S., 24A/4a. This information is extracted from Li K'uei's economic analysis for Duke Wen of Wei (403-387 B.C.). According to Nancy Swann's calculation, 100 mou would be equivalent to 4.746+ English acres. Please see N. Swann, Food and Money in Ancient China, p. 363.

[14]H.S., 16. Table of the Meritorious Ministers from Kao Tzu to Emperor Wen.

[15]Ibid., 24A/4a.

[16]Ibid., 99/69, middle chapter, The Biography of Wang Mang. See also N. Swann, Food and Money in Ancient China, p. 162, note 175. Swann points out that in 156 and 155 B.C., the Han mou had been increased to 2.4 times larger than the Chou mou 畝.

[17]From age sixteen to his day of marriage, usually between the ages of twenty and twenty-five, a male member under the head of a family was called yü-fu 餘夫, an extra man. He was entitled to receive 25 mou, which was put under the control of the householder or head of the family until his marriage. When he married, he then became an independent house-

holder registered separately and received 75 mou more, to make a hundred. Please see Swann, Food and Money in Ancient China, p. 119, notes 40 and 41.

[18]H.S., 24A/4a.

[19]Please refer to the sections on emperors Wen and Ching in chapter 3.

[20]T'ien-lin Hsü (Sung Dynasty scholar), ed., Essentials of Western Han (Taipei: World Book Co., 1963), chapter 51, pp. 517-531. Also H.S., 19A/7a.

[21]Ibid., p. 519.

[22]H.S., 91. Biographies of the Money Makers.

[23]T'ien-lin Hsü, ed., Essentials of Western Han, p. 54.

[24]H.S., 91, Biographies of the Money Makers.

[25]Kan Lao, Documents of the Han Dynasty on Wooden Ships from Edsin Gol, Part 2: Transliterations and Commentaries, The Institute of History and Philology Academic Sinica Special Publications No. 40, (Taipei: 1960), on historical verifications, p. 11.

[26]S.C., 129/69.

[27]B. Watson, Records of the Grand Historian of China, II, p. 476.

[28]Ibid., p. 477.

[29]S.C., 129/69.

[30]Ibid.

[31]H.S., 3/3

[32]S.C., 129/69.

[33]Ibid.

[34]B. Watson, Records of the Grand Historian of China, II, p. 479.

[35]S.C., 129/69.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Kuan Huan, Yen T'ieh Lun, Ssu Pu Pei Yao (四部備要, 子部) section III, Tzu Pu, vol. 29, pp. 6-7. San Ch'uan 三川 means the three rivers of Huang Ho, Lo and I, whereas the Chou means Eastern and Western Chou, the capital of which was Lo-yang in Honan.

[38]H.S., 35/5. See also S.C., 106/46, the Biography of the King of Wu, Liu P'i.

[39]S.C., 129/69.

[40]Hsiao Ho and Lu Chia, mentioned in an earlier chapter, did buy up land for their own families for security. Hsiao Ho's case was a special one, because he was endeavouring to reduce Liu Pang's suspicions towards him. But these incidents do demonstrate that high officials did invest in land for the sake of their families and descendants, and not merely the lower officials and the wealthy class.

[41]I Chia, "New Writings," p. 11. See also H.S., 48/18.

[42]Joseph Cha in his dissertation The Historical Significance of the Reigns of Wen and Ching of the Former Han Dynasty translated 穀 as grain which is a mis-reading of 穀 . Since grain is a common produce both east and west of the mountain (in fact the eastern and southern regions produce more varieties of grain than the western region which mainly produces wheat), in this context, grain has not been classified as a special produce of any region. According to Yang Chia-lo's verification, 穀 is the name of a tree whose bark can be used as paper. See Yang Chia-lo, ed., Present-day Interpretation of the Shih Chi (Taipei: Cheng Chung Book Co., 1971), p. 860, note 5. N. Swann also points out that the ku 穀 tree is a type of mulberry tree from which paper is made, and Professor B. Watson translates 穀 as paper mulberry. Cf. B. Watson, Records of the Grand Historian of China, II, p. 477; N. Swann, Food and Money in Ancient China, p. 420. In Han times 粟 was the usual word for grain, not 穀 .

[43]Professor B. Watson here translates 聲色 as singers and beautiful women. Dr. Swann has translated it as articles relating to music and feminine beauty. See references in note 42 above. However, in this context, musical instruments and dyes are decided upon for 聲 and 色 respectively. Yang Chia-lo and Chang Hsin-chieh interpret the term as musical instruments and dyes, pointing out that singers and women do not belong to the same category as fish, salt, silk, and lacquer. Please see Yang Chia-lo's Present-day Interpretation of the Shih Chi, p. 860, note 6. In fact, the region that was famous for beautiful women (in the states of Yen and Chao 燕,趙) was mentioned in a later passage of the same chapter.

[44]S.C., 129/69.

[45]N. Swann, Food and Money in Ancient China, p. 378. For a detailed explanation of the Han monetary units please see pp. 377-384 of the same work.

[46]"Miscellaneous Collection of the Hundred Schools of Classics and History," Ssu Pu Pei Yao (四部備要，集部，經史百家雜鈔), section IV, Chi Pu, vol. 116, part 2, Memorials I, pp. 14-15.

[47]H.S., 4/4. It was in the same year that Emperor Wen ordered the official minting of the four-shu coin to replace the wu-fen (五分 = 3-shu). Then the four-shu copper cash became the smallest monetary unit for minor everyday transactions among the commoners, especially in market bargainings.

[48]"Miscellaneous Collection of the Hundred Schools of Classics and History," Ssu Pu Pei Yao, section IV, vol. 116, part 2, Memorials I, p. 15.

[49]Ibid., p. 14.

[50]Ibid., p. 15. Chia I discussed this issue in his memorial to Emperor Wen and advised the government to establish a legal currency (法錢) throughout the country, instead of allowing private minting.

[51]Shee-wu Sung, A Preliminary Study of the Monetary History of the Western Han Dynasty (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1971), p. 71. Mr. Sung's work is an excellent, in-depth study of the money economy in the Former Han Dynasty. He points out that according to chemical analysis of unearthed Han coins by Chinese and Japanese scholars, most of the four-shu coins in Emperor Wen's time had a lead content of less than one percent, and some (probably produced by greedy merchants and minters) had over 20%. Compared to coins in the Ch'in and the Warring States period, the Han coins were a tremendous improvement. Before the Warring States period, the knife-shaped coins (刀布錢) had a lead content of fifty to sixty percent, whereas the Ch'in pan-liang and eight-shu coins had a lead content of from 12.5 to 30%.

[52]"Miscellaneous Collection of the Hundred Schools of Classics and History," Ssu Pu Pei Yao, section IV, vol. 116, part 2, Memorials I, p. 15.

[53]Kuan Huan, Yen T'ieh Lun, Ssu Pu Pei Yao, section III, vol. 29, p. 10.

[54]Ibid., p. 6.

[55]"Miscellaneous Collection of the Hundred Schools of Classics and History," Ssu Pu Pei Yao, section IV, vol. 116, part 2, Memorials I, p. 13.

[56]H.S., 48/18.

[57]"Miscellaneous Collection of the Hundred Schools of Classics and History," Ssu Pu Pei Yao, section IV, vol. 116, part 2, Memorials I, pp. 20-21.

[58]S.C., 129/69. See also H.S., 91/61.

[59]Ibid.

[60]H.S., 91/61. See also S.C., 129/69.

[61]Ibid., also S.C. 129/69.

[62]Kuan Huan, Yen T'ieh Lun, Ssu Pu Pei Yao, section III, vol. 29, p. 13.

[63]S.C., 113/53.

[64]H.S., 28B/8b.

[65]Kuan Huan, Yen T'ieh Lun, vol. 1, chapter 1.

[66]H.S., 72/42.

[67]Ibid., 24A/4a.

[68]B. Watson, Records of the Grand Historian of China, II, p. 499. Underlining mine.

[69]Kuan Huan, Yen T'ieh Lun, vol. 1, chapter 2.

[70]Hou Han Shu, 40A/30b. Pan Ku wrote a long poem which describes Ch'ang-an in vivid detail.

[71]H.S., 28B/8b.

[72]S.C., 129/69.

[73]S.C., 30/8.

[74]Ibid.

[75]H.S., 24A/4a.

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